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2 Vols

"JE PRIE MES PARENS ET AMIS DE CROIRE TOUT CE QUE LE DOCTEUR O'MEARA LEUR DIRA RELATIVEMENT À LA POSITION OÙ JE ME TROUVE ET AUX SENTIMENS QUE JE CONSERVE."

Sil vois Mabonne Louise
je la prie de permettre
quil lui baise la
main Napoleon
le 25 juillet 1818

Engraved by T. WOOLNOTH, from a CAMEO by MORELLI, presented to
Mr O'MEARA BY MADAME MÈRE;
in the Year 1819.

Published by W. Simpkin & R. Marshall. June 1822.

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NAPOLEON IN EXILE;

OR,

A Voice from St. Helena.

France
'N'
O'M

THE

OPINIONS AND REFLECTIONS OF

NAPOLEON

ON THE

MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS LIFE AND GOVERNMENT,

IN HIS OWN WORDS.

BY BARRY E. O'MEARA, ESQ.

HIS LATE SURGEON.

> ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ἅπαντ᾽ ἠπιστάμην,
> Ἑκὼν ἑκὼν ἥμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι·
> Θνητοῖς δ᾽ἀρήγων, αὐτὸς εὑρόμην πόνους.
> Ὀυ μήν τι ποιναῖς γ᾽ᾠόμην τοιαῖσί με
> Κατισχνανεῖσθαι πρὸς πέτραις πεδαρσίοις
> Τυχόντ᾽ ἐρήμου τοῦδ᾽ ἀγείτονος πάγου.
>
> ÆSCH. PROM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

FIFTH EDITION.

London:

PRINTED FOR W. SIMPKIN AND R. MARSHALL,
STATIONERS'-HALL-COURT, LUDGATE-STREET.

1822.

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Chancery-Lane, London.

TO

THE RIGHT HON. LADY HOLLAND,

WHOSE HUMANE ATTENTIONS

TO

NAPOLEON IN ST. HELENA,

DREW FROM HIM,

IN HIS DYING MOMENTS,

THE GRATEFUL EXPRESSION OF HIS

"SATISFACTION AND ESTEEM,"

THESE VOLUMES

ARE,

WITH HER LADYSHIP'S PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HER LADYSHIP'S VERY OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

TRANSLATION OF THE MOTTO.

" Of these things
I was not unadvised, and my offence
Was voluntary; in man's cause I drew
These evils on my head—but ills like these,
On this aërial rock to waste away,
This desart and unsocial precipice,
My mind presaged it not."

THE cameo, an engraving from which is given in the frontispiece, was executed before the battle of Marengo, previous to the time when Napoleon became corpulent. *Madame Mère*,* when she presented it to me, informed me that it was then considered to be an excellent likeness: and indeed its resemblance to what he was when I saw him, was striking, making allowance for his features having lost much of the sharpness shewn in the cameo.

The engraving from the cameo has been pronounced by M. Revelli, of Duncan-place, Leicester-square, *Professore emerito* of the University of Turin, to be a most striking likeness of Napoleon at the period mentioned. It may be necessary to observe, that no other painter was favoured with such opportunities of forming a correct judgment on the subject as M. Revelli; as, independent of having frequently seen him at an early age, he resided for several months with Napoleon at Elba, as his painter, and executed a beautiful portrait of him, which is now in his possession.

The following is a translation of the fac-simile of Napoleon's handwriting under the cameo—"*If he sees my good Louise, I beg of her to permit him to kiss her hand.*"

The engraving from the medal to be placed after the Prefaces in Vol. I.

The whole length portrait of Napoleon to face the title of the second volume.

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* Napoleon's mother.

Explanation

Explanation of the Figures in the Representation of the House, in front of the Appendix, Volume II.

Fig.

1. Billiard-Room.
2. Drawing-Room.
3. Napoleon's Writing-Room, afterwards converted into a Bed-Room.
4. His first Bed-Room.
5. Marchand's Room.
6. Inferior Servants' Hall.
7. Kitchen.

Fig.

8. Count Las Cases' first Room.—The Garret above for his son.
9. Orderly Officer's Room.
10. General Gourgaud's.
11. Mr. O'Meara's.
12. New Rooms built for Count and Countess Montholon and family.

The Commissioners were allowed to come as far as the gate represented in the plate.

PREFACE.

Placed by peculiar circumstances arising from my profession, near the person of the most extraordinary man perhaps of any age, in the most critical juncture of his life, I determined to profit by the opportunities afforded me, as far as I could consistently with honour. The following volumes are the result. The reader will see in the very outset of the work, how it was that I became attached as a medical officer to the household of Napoleon. That it was in consequence of his own application, by the advice of my superiors, and with the full concurrence of the lords of the admiralty. I never sought the situation; it was in some degree assigned me; and most assuredly I should have shrunk from the acceptance of it, had I contemplated the possibility of being even remotely called on to compromise the principles either of an officer or a gentleman. Before, however, I had been long scorched upon the rock of St. Helena, I was taught to appreciate the embarrassments of my situation. I saw soon that I must either become accessory to vexations for which there was no necessity, or incur suspicions of no very comfortable nature. Fortunately for my honour, my happiness, and indeed for every thing except my interests, I did not hesitate. Humanity required of me a consideration for my patient. The uniform I wore imperiously commanded that I should not soil it by indignities to a captive, and my country's character pledged me to hold sacred the misfortunes of the fallen. This I did. It is my pride to avow it: a pride inferior only to that which I feel in finding those men my enemies who consider it a crime.

The few alleviations which I had it in my power to offer, Napoleon repaid by the condescension with which he honoured me; and my necessary professional intercourse was soon increased into an intimacy, if I may speak of intimacy with such a personage. In fact, in the seclusion of Longwood, he soon almost entirely laid aside the emperor; with those about him, he conversed familiarly on his past life, and sketched the characters, and detailed the anecdotes which are here presented faithfully to the reader. The unreserved manner in which he spoke of every thing can only be conceived by those who heard him; and though where his own conduct was questioned, he had a natural human leaning towards himself, still truth appeared to be his principal, if not his only object. In the delineation of character he was peculiarly felicitous. His mind seemed to concentrate its beams on the object he wished to elucidate, and its prominent features became instantly discernible. The intimate acquaintance which he necessarily possessed with all the great characters who figured in Europe for the last thirty years, gave to his opinions and observations more than ordinary interest; indeed from no other source could such authentic information be acquired. Notwithstanding the interval which elapsed since many of the occurrences alluded to took place, and the distracting occupations which must have employed his mind, it was wonderful to see how freshly he remembered every transaction which became the subject of inquiry. If there was any thing more extraordinary than this, it was the apathy with which he perused the libels which were written on him—he seemed inspired with a conviction of posthumous fame, beyond the reach of contemporary depreciation. But perhaps a knowledge of the man may be better acquired from seeing him—as he really was during the first three years of his residence at St. Helena, than from any speculative deduction—as he appeared, spoke, acted, and seemed to feel, the reader shall have him.—It may perhaps be only right to add, that some of the observations or arguments on particular subjects were committed to paper from Napoleon's own dictation.

Before, however, we go further, I feel that the public have a right to demand how far they can depend on the authenticity of these volumes. To the friends who know me I hope no verification is necessary—to my detractors even mathematical proof would be unavailing—to those who are prejudiced neither on one side nor the other, the following corroborations are submitted.

In the first place, then, I refer to the fac simile of Napoleon's hand-writing prefixed to the frontispiece, and given to me by himself as a proof of the confidence with which he treated me—the original of this any person who chooses to apply to me shall see. I refer also to the whole Longwood household, more particularly to the executors, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and to Count Las Cases, as to the facilities I had, and the familiarity with which I was honoured. This, I hope, will be sufficient on the score of opportunity.

The next point is as to the accuracy of the transcript. Upon this subject my plan was as follows. I spoke as little and listened as attentively as I could, seldom interposing, except for the purpose of leading to those facts on which I wished for information. To my memory, though naturally retentive, I did not entirely trust; immediately on retiring from Napoleon's presence, I hurried to my chamber and carefully committed to paper the topics of conversation, with, so far as I could, the exact words used. Where I had the least doubt as to my accuracy, I marked it in my journal, and by a subsequent recurrence to the topic, when future opportunities offered, I satisfied myself; this, although I have avoided them as much as possible, may account for some occasional repetitions, but I have thought it better to appear sometimes tedious, than ever to run the risk of a mistatement. My long residence at Longwood rendered those opportunities frequent, and the facility of communication which Napoleon allowed, made the introduction of almost any subject easy. Thus did I form my original journal; as it increased in interest, it became of course to me an object of increased solicitude; and as nothing which could possibly occur at St. Helena would have surprised me, I determined to place its contents at least beyond the power of that spoliation which afterwards was perpetrated on some of my other property. Having purchased in the island, a machine for that purpose, I transmitted at intervals the portions copied to a friend on board one of his majesty's ships in the roads, who forwarded them as opportunities occurred, to Mr. Holmes of Lyon's Inn, Napoleon's respectable agent in London. The entire of this copy Mr. Holmes duly received some time previous to my return to England, as appears below by his own authentication,* and part of the silver paper manuscript as he received it, I have deposited with my publishers for the satisfaction of the sceptical. Thus, for the authenticity of the following conversations the reader has the guarantees, first, of the undoubted opportunities afforded me, 2ndly, of their having been taken on the spot, 3rdly, of their having been transmitted at the moment, and 4thly, of the original document itself, authenticated by the person to whom it had been consigned and now submitted to general inspection. Independent of these, I think I may refer with confidence to those third persons, whose interviews with Napoleon are occasionally introduced; and some of the official members of his majesty's government cannot with truth deny, that many of the political conversations were by me communicated at no great interval after their occurrence. Such communications I considered it my duty to make wherever I thought their import might benefit the country. What use ministers may have made of them I know not, but certainly the preventive system with respect to smugglers was adopted soon after the transmission of Napoleon's conversation on the subject. Perhaps, however, after all, the best proof of the authenticity of these volumes will be found in their own contents—independent of the internal evidence contained in the anecdotes themselves, there was, on whatever came from Napoleon's mind, an inimitable impress. On this subject, if I appear to many unnecessarily minute, it is because I am well aware that every attempt will be made to deny the authenticity of these conversations; there are too many implicated —too many interested—too many who must wish to cast an impenetrable shade over the transactions of St. Helena, to suffer the truth to obtain an undisputed circulation. The following official letters will shew, that it was at least the desire of his majesty's ministers to bury Napoleon's mind with his body in the grave of his imprisonment. If I have disobeyed the injunction, it is because I thought that every fragment of such a mind should be preserved to history, because I despised the despotism which would incarcerate even intellect:—and because I thought those only should become subsidiary to concealment, who were conscious of actions which could not bear the light. The following creditable documents emanating from the ministers of a free country, were transmitted by authority to me at St Helena, soon after the publication of Mr. Warden's book. Every feeling heart will make its own comment on them.

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* 3 *Lyon's Inn, June 22d,* 1822.

I certify that I received all the papers alluded to by Mr. O'Meara in the Preface, a considerable time before his arrival in England. WILLIAM HOLMES.

His Majesty's ship Conqueror,
St. Helena Roads, 2nd January, 1818.

Sir,—I herewith inclose to you a copy of a letter I have just received from Mr. Secretary Barrow, (relative to a work published by Mr. Warden, late surgeon of his majesty's ship Northumberland,) which I desire you will pay most particular attention to. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,
Robt. Plampin,
Rear Admiral, Commander-in-chief.

To Mr. Barry O'Meara, Surgeon,
R. N. Longwood, St. Helena.

(No. XII.) *Admiralty Office, 13th September,* 1817.

Sir,—My Lords Commissioners of the admiralty having had under their consideration a work which has been published by Mr. Warden, late surgeon of his majesty's ship Northumberland, their lordships have commanded me to signify their directions to you to acquaint all the officers employed under your orders, that they are to understand, that if they should presume to publish any information which they may have obtained by being officially employed at St. Helena, they will suffer their lordships' heavy displeasure.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
John Barrow.

To Rear Admiral Plampin,
St. Helena.

Such were the attempts, certainly not unaccountable, to cancel all recollection of Napoleon, at least in his captivity—those who issued these orders forgot that the *power* did not accompany the *will* to subject the publications of Englishmen to an *imprimatur.* Despising the denunciation as I did, and from my heart do, I have, however, thought it only my duty not to publish these conversations till after Napoleon's death; nor have I done so even now, without the knowledge of his executors. All danger from them is past: the tongue which uttered them is silent for ever, and history has a right to them.

If I was disposed to comment on these letters, I should say that they proceed altogether upon a wrong assumption, namely, that an official footing at Longwood gave to any one the power of obtaining the information which I collected. Nothing can be more absurd. If I had acted a different part from what I did—if, in place of reconciling the allegiance of a subject with the compassion of a Christian, and preserving the rights of my country, while I took care not to compromise the feelings of my nature, I tried to make my office the avenue to fortune—if I sunk the man in the menial—if I became an official slave instead of an honest servant—if I courted power, by straining my loyalty to suit the purposes of mean vexation and unmanly vengeance—if I lifted up my hoof against the dead lion, or displayed my pigmy prowess by a dastard warfare upon the helpless infirmities of a fallen enemy; I should not only have had no opportunities of access, but I should have been proscribed Napoleon's, and man's society. But I acted altogether upon different principles; after having devoted the best fifteen years of my life to combating his soldiers in the field, and on the wave, I forgot, when he was my country's prisoner, that he had ever been my country's foe. I thought the conquest of clemency, superior even to that of valour, and that a proud country should make her enemies confess, not only that she conquered, but that she deserved to conquer. In such a place as St. Helena, there could have been no danger from the worst man's deviating into feelings of humanity; fenced round, as it is, with the most frightful precipices, with only one practicable place of egress, and that one not only bristling with cannon, and crowded with guards, but effectually barri-

August 21st, 1822.

P. S.—It has just been communicated to me, that I am in error in having stated (vol. i. p. 127), that it was *Sir G. Cockburn's brother* that was seized in Hamburgh by order of Napoleon; the person, according to the information of the gentlemen who write to me, was *Sir George Rumbold.* Although I can scarcely believe that I was mistaken, yet I think it my duty to mention this friendly correction.

October 24th, 1822.

On the subject of the foregoing postscript, the following Letter appeared in The Morning Herald of the 23d September, 1822:—

To the Editor of the Morning Herald.

Sir—Dr. O'Meara is *correct* in his statement of Mr. Cockburn, the consul at Hamburgh, being seized and made a prisoner in the manner related. The writer of this was a *co-détenu* with him at Verdun. He owed his liberation to a most singular circumstance. His wife was a French lady, and had been a school-fellow with Madame Beauharnois. Mr. C. was advised to send her to Paris, to obtain an interview with Madame Beauharnois, and solicit her husband's release. She went to Paris: Madame B. recognised her, and shewed her great kindness and attention, promised to exert all her interest with the emperor on the first favourable opportunity; but added, that she could not promise all the success she wished, as at that moment the emperor had, to use her own words, "*grand rancune contre les Anglois.*" In about a month after, Mr. Cockburn received a passport for England, and his name ordered to be struck off the list of the *détenus* at the dépôt.

(*Signed*) A ci-devant Detenu at Verdun.

Sept. 15.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

The rapidity with which a Second Edition of this Work has been called for, is an unequivocal proof of the favourable opinion of the Public. Its reception has been highly flattering to my feelings, and is the best answer that can be given to the calumnies by which it has been assailed by some of the hirelings of the corrupt journals of the present day.

This Edition has been carefully revised, a few verbal inaccuracies corrected, and a new Engraving added of a drawing from the statue presented to me by Napoleon on my leaving St. Helena.

It is with feelings of deep regret that I find it necessary to allude to a transaction, the remembrance of which will always be considered by me as one of the most unfortunate events of my life, inasmuch as, to an upright mind, it will ever be a source of sorrow to have given, however unintentionally, unmerited pain to those from whom it had never received any injury: nor can this sentiment find any parallel in my breast, unless it be in the regret, which will never cease to accompany the recollection of this affair, that, by a fatal error, the offender, for whom the chastisement was intended, escaped the actual punishment due to his crime. The Public will however feel, that the person to whom I allude, must be considered as having *virtually* received what was due to his brutal attack upon my character; an attack which he failed to support in the only manner that could prove him to be in some degree worthy of the character of a gentleman. His slanders have a prolific birth, but as to himself, he seems to be *impalpable.* As far as respects myself, therefore, I hope the public will perceive that I have not been inattentive to my honour, the protection of which has ever been the sentiment nearest to my heart; and under which impression, all resentment against those who attempted to degrade me ceases, and is sup-planted by pity for the situation in which such persons must stand before the bar of public opinion.

To the strictest critical scrutiny, or review of these volumes, I can feel no reluctance to their being subjected; if they cannot bear gentlemanly investigation, they are undeserving to remain before the public; and I should consider myself as unworthy of any attention from my countrymen, were I to flinch from their inquiries, or to take offence at their scepticism, if they found, after a fair examination, whereon to rest their doubts. But to the personal attack which I have sustained from *The Times Newspaper,* I was not disposed to submit with *passive obedience;* an attack, which was as distant from the duty of an impartial Reviewer, holding the balance even between the public and the writer, as it was from the courtesy, in all matters of controversy, which one gentleman owes to another.

A friend has transmitted to me the following communication:—Napoleon was removed from the Bellerophon on board of the Northumberland on the 7th of August; and the words used by Captain Maitland to Count Las Cases, were as follows:—" That with the orders which he (Captain Maitland,) was acting upon, he conceived that he might receive him on board the Bellerophon, and carry him to England; but that in doing so, he was acting upon his own responsibility, and that he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of the Prince Regent, as Captain M. could not enter into any promise as to the reception Napoleon was to meet with."

The following document, omitted in the first edition, is of too important a nature not to be annexed to the present. It completely refutes the assertions of the ministerialists, touching the alleged refusal of England to recognize the imperial dynasty.

Protocole des Conferences de Chatillon sur Seine.

Fevrier 4.

S. E. M. le Duc de Vicence, ministre des relations extérieures, et plénipotentiaire de France, d'une part, et les plénipotentiaires des cours alliées, savoir: M. le Comte de Stadion, &c. pour l'Autriche; S. E. M. le Comte de Razoumowski, &c. pour la Russie; LL. EE. Lord Aberdeen, &c., Lord Cathcart, &c., et Sir Charles Stewart, &c. pour la Grande Bretagne;

et S. E. M. le Baron de Humboldt, &c. pour la Prusse, d'autre part. S'étant acquittés réciproquement des visites d'usage dans la journée du 4 Fevrier, sont convenus en même temps de se réunir en séance le lendemain, 5 du mois de Fevrier.

Séance du 17 Fevrier, suite du Protocole.

. . . . . Le plénipotentiaire Autrichien lit ensuite le propos du traité préliminaire suivant.

Projet d'un traité préliminaire entre les hautes puissances alliées et la France.

Au nom de la très sainte et indivisible Trinité.

LL. MM. II. d'Autriche et de Russie, S. M. le Roi du Royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Irlande, et S. M. le Roi de Prusse, agissant au nom de tous leurs alliés d'une part, et S. M. l'Empereur des Français de l'autre; désirant cimenter le repos et le bien-être futur de l'Europe par une paix solide et durable, sur terre et sur mer, et ayant nommé pour atteindre à ce but salutaire, leurs plénipotentiaires actuellement réunis à Chatillon sur Seine; pour discuter les conditions de cette paix, les plénipotentiaires sont convenus des articles suivants.

Article 1er.

Il y aura paix et amitié entre LL. MM. II. d'Autriche et de Russie, S. M. le Roi du Royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Irlande, et S. M. le Roi de Prusse, agissant en même temps au nom de tous leurs alliés, et *S. M. l'Empereur des Français, leurs héritiers et successeurs à perpétuité.*

Les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent &c. &c.

(*Signé*)

CAULAINCOURT,
DUC DE VICENCE.

ABERDEEN,
CATHCART,
LE COMTE DE RAZOUMOWSKI,
HUMBOLDT,
LE COMTE DE STADION,
CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut. Gen.

(TRANSLATION.)

Protocol of the Conferences of Chatillon sur Seine.

February 4th.

HIS excellency the Duke of Vicenza, minister of foreign affairs and plenipotentiary of France, on the one part, and the plenipotentiaries of the

allied courts on the other, to wit: Austria, M. le Comte de Stadion—Russia, S. E. M. le Comte de Razoumowski—Great Britain, their excellencies Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart—and S. E. M. le Baron de Humboldt, on the part of Prussia, having reciprocally received the accustomed visits on the 4th of February, at the same time agreed to assemble in the sitting of the next day, the 5th of February.

Sitting of the 17*th Feb. suite of the Protocol.*

The Austrian plenipotentiary then read the preliminary arrangements for the following treaty.

Project of a preliminary treaty between the high allied powers and France.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity.

Their imperial majesties of Austria and Russia, his majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the King of Prussia, acting in the name of all their allies, on the one part, and his majesty the Emperor of the French on the other; wishing to cement the repose and the future welfare of Europe by a solid and durable peace, by land and sea, and to attain this salutary end, having named their plenipotentiaries at present assembled at Chatillon sur Seine, to discuss the conditions of the peace, the plenipotentiaries have agreed on the following articles:

Article 1*st*.

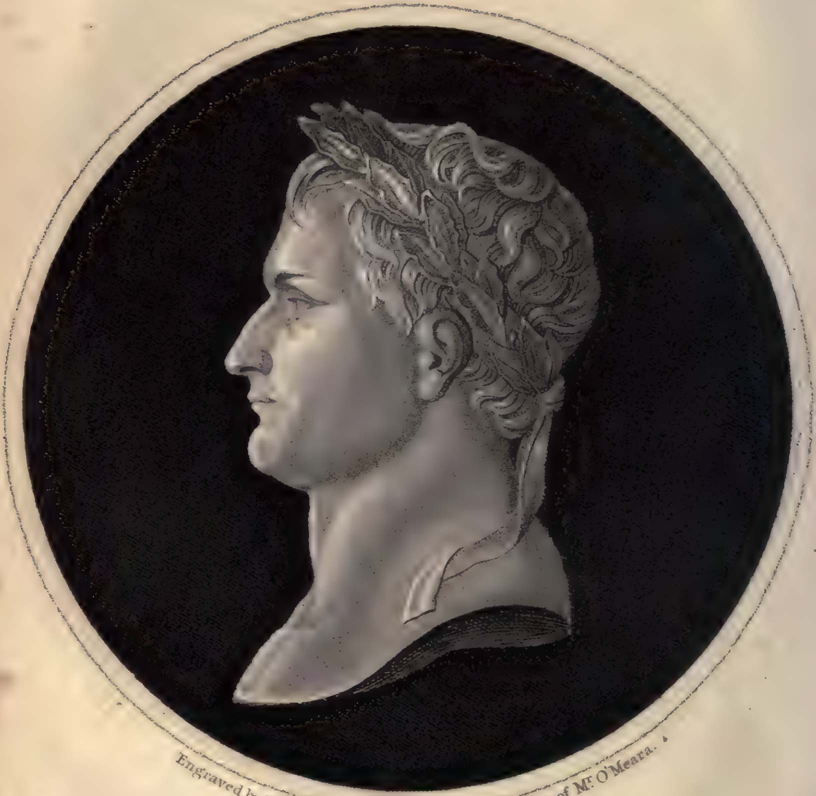
There shall be peace and friendship between their imperial majesties of Austria and Russia, his majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the King of Prussia, acting at the same time in the name of all their allies, *and his majesty the Emperor of the French, their heirs and successors, for ever.*

The high contracting parties engage to, &c. &c.

(*Signed, &c. &c.*)

CAULAINCOURT,
DUC DE VICENCE.

ABERDEEN,
CATHCART,
LE COMTE DE RAZOUMOWSKI,
HUMBOLDT,
LE COMTE DE STADION,
CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut. Gen.



Engraved by T. A. Dean, from a Medal in the Poſseſsion of Mr. O'Meara.

Published by W. SIMPKIN & R. MARSHALL June 1822.

A VOICE

FROM

ST. HELENA.

In consequence of the resolution which had been adopted by the British government to send the former sovereign of France to a distant settlement, and communicated to him by Major-General Sir Henry Bunbury, under secretary of state, on board of the Bellerophon, 74, Captain Maitland, at Plymouth, a few days before, Napoleon, accompanied by such of his suite as were permitted by our government, was removed on the 7th of August, 1815, from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland, 74, Captain Ross. The vessel bore the flag of Rear-admiral Sir George Cockburn, G.C.B. who was entrusted with the charge of conveying Napoleon to St. Helena, and of regulating all measures necessary to the security of his personal detention after his arrival at the place of his confinement. Out of the suite that had followed his fortunes on board of the Bellerophon and Myrmidon, his majesty's government permitted four of his officers, his surgeon, and twelve of his household, to share his exile. The undermentioned persons were consequently selected, and accompanied him on board of the Northumberland:—Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and Las Cases, Baron Gourgaud, Countess Bertrand and her three children, Countess Montholon and child, Marchand, premier valet de chambre, Cipriani, maître d'hôtel, Pieron, St. Denis, Novarre, Le Page, two Archambauds, Santini, Rousseau, Gentilini, Josephine, Bernard, and his wife, domestics to Count Bertrand. A fine youth of about fourteen, son to Count Las Cases, was also permitted to accompany his father. Previous to their removal from the Bellerophon, the swords and other arms of the prisoners were demanded from them, and their luggage was subsequently examined, in order that possession might be taken of their property, whether in bills, money, or jewels. After paying those of his suite who were not permitted to accompany him, only four thousand Napoleons in gold were found, which were taken possession of by persons authorized by his majesty's government.

When the determination of the British ministers to send Napoleon to St. Helena was communicated to his suite, M. Maingaud, the surgeon who had accompanied him from Rochefort, refused to follow him to the tropics. M. Maingaud was a young man unknown to Napoleon, and had been fortuitously chosen to attend him until M. Fourreau de Beauregard, who had been his surgeon in Elba, could join him; and I was informed that even had he been willing to proceed to St. Helena, his services would not have been accepted. On the day that Napoleon first came on board of the Bellerophon, after he had gone round the ship, he addressed me on the poop, and asked if I were the *chirurgien major?* I replied in the affirmative, in the Italian language. He then asked in the same language, what country I was a native of? I replied, of Ireland. "Where did you study your profession?" "In Dublin and London." "Which of the two is the best school of physic?" I replied that I thought Dublin the best school of anatomy, and London of surgery. "Oh," said he, smiling, "you say Dublin is the best school of anatomy because you are an Irishman." I answered that I begged pardon, that I had said so because it was true; as in Dublin the subjects for dissection were to be procured at a fourth of the price paid for them in London, and the professors were equally good. He smiled at this reply, and asked what actions I had been in, and in what parts of the globe I had served? I mentioned several, and amongst others, Egypt. At the word Egypt, he commenced a series of questions, which I answered to the best of my ability. I mentioned to him that the corps of officers to which I then belonged messed in a house that had formerly served as a stable for his horses. He laughed at this, and ever afterwards noticed me when walking on deck, and occasionally called me to interpret or explain. On the passage from Rochefort to Torbay, Colonel Planat, one of his orderly officers, was taken very ill, and attended by me, as M. Maingaud was incapable, through sea-sickness, of offering any assistance. During the period of his illness, Napoleon frequently asked about him, and conversed with me on the nature of his malady and the mode of cure. After our arrival at Plymouth, General Gourgaud also was very unwell, and did me the honour to have recourse to me for advice. All those circumstances had the effect of bringing me more in contact with Napoleon than any other officer in the ship, with the exception of Captain Maitland; and the day before the Bellerophon left Torbay, the Duke of Rovigo, with whom I was frequently in the habit of conversing, asked me if I were willing to accompany Napoleon to St. Helena as surgeon, adding, that if I were, I should receive a communication to that effect from Count Bertrand, the grand maréchal. I replied that I had no objection, provided the British government and my captain were willing to permit me, and also under certain stipulations. I communicated this immediately to Captain Maitland, who was good enough to favour me with his advice and opinion; which were, that I ought to accept of the offer, provided the sanction of Admiral Lord Keith, and of the English government could be obtained, adding, that he would mention the matter to his lordship. On our arrival at Torbay, Count Bertrand made the proposal to Captain Maitland and to myself, which was immediately communicated to Lord Keith. His lordship sent for me on board of the Tonnant, and after some preliminary conversation, in which I explained the nature of the stipulations I was desirous of making, did me the honour to recommend me in strong terms to accept of the situation, adding, that he could not order me to do so, as it was foreign to the naval service, and a business altogether extraordinary; but that he advised me to accept of it, and expressed his conviction that government would feel obliged to me, as they were very anxious that Napoleon should be accompanied by a surgeon of his own choice. His lordship added, that it was an employment which I could hold perfectly consistent with my honour, and with the duty I owed to my country and my sovereign.

Feeling highly gratified that the step which I had in contemplation had met with the approbation of characters so distinguished in the service as Admiral Lord Keith and Captain Maitland,* I accepted of the situation, and proceeded on board of the Northumberland, stipulating, however, by letter to his lordship, that I should be always considered as a British officer, and upon the list of naval surgeons on full pay, paid by the British government, and that I should be at liberty to quit so peculiar a service, should I find it not to be consonant to my wishes.*

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* It is no small gratification to me to be able to produce such a testimonial as the following from a captain with whom I served in three different ships.

November 5th, 1814.

Dear Sir,

The attention and meritorious conduct of Mr. Barry O'Meara, while surgeon with me in the Goliath, calls upon me as an act of justice to him and of benefit to the service, to state, that during the fifteen years I have commanded some one of his majesty's ships, I have never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully answered my expectations. Not being a judge of his professional abilities, though I have every reason to believe them of the first class, and know that to be the opinion of some of the oldest and most respectable surgeons in the navy, I shall only state, that during a period of very bad weather, which occasioned the Goliath to be extremely sickly, his attention and tenderness to the men was such as to call forth my warmest approbation, and the grateful affection of both officers and men. Were it probable that I should soon obtain another appointment, I know of no man in the service I should wish to have as surgeon so much as Mr. O'Meara. As, however, in the present state of the war that is not likely, I trust you will do me the favour of giving him an appointment, as an encouragement to young men of his description, and believe me,

Dear Sir, &c. &c. &c.

FREDERICK L. MAITLAND.

To Dr. Harness, &c. &c. &c.
Transport Board.

During the voyage, which lasted about ten weeks, Napoleon did not suffer much from sea-sickness after the first week. He rarely made his appearance on deck until after dinner. He breakfasted in his own cabin *à la fourchette* at ten or eleven o'clock, and spent a considerable portion of the day in writing and reading. Before he sat down to dinner he generally played a game at chess, and remained at that meal, in compliment to the admiral, about an hour; at which time coffee was brought to him, and he left the company to take a walk upon deck, accompanied by Counts Bertrand or Las Cases, while the admiral and the rest continued at table for an hour or two longer. While walking the quarter-deck, he frequently spoke to such of the officers as could understand and converse with him; and often asked Mr. Warden, (the surgeon of the Northumberland), questions touching the prevailing complaints, and mode of treatment of the sick. He occasionally played a game at whist, but generally retired to his cabin at nine or ten o'clock. Such was the uniform course of his life during the voyage.

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* Appendix, No. I.

The Northumberland hove to off Funchal, and the Havannah frigate was sent in to procure refreshments. During the time we were off the anchorage a violent *scirocco levante* prevailed, which did great mischief to the grapes. We were informed that some of the ignorant and superstitious inhabitants attributed it to the presence of Napoleon. Fourteen or fifteen hundred volumes of books were ordered from England for Napoleon's use by Count Bertrand.

We arrived at St. Helena on the 15th of October. Nothing can be more desolate or repulsive than the appearance of the exterior of the island. When we had anchored, it was expected that Napoleon would have been invited to stop at Plantation House, the country-seat of the governor, until a house could have been got ready for him; as heretofore passengers of distinction had invariably been asked to pass the time they remained on the island there. Some forcible reason possibly existed, as this courtesy was not extended to him.

On the evening of the 17th, about seven o'clock, Napoleon landed at James Town, accompanied by the admiral, Count and Countess Bertrand, Las Cases, Count and Countess Montholon, &c. and proceeded to a house belonging to a gentleman named Porteous, which had been taken for that purpose by the admiral, and was one of the best in the town. It was not, however, free from inconvenience, as Napoleon could not make his appearance at the windows, or even descend from his bedchamber, without being exposed to the rude and ardent gaze of those who wished to gratify their curiosity with a sight of the imperial captive. There was no house in the town at all calculated for privacy, except the governor's, to which there belonged a court, and in front there was a walk upon the ramparts facing the sea, and overlooking the Marino, which proximity to the ocean probably was the cause of its not having been selected for him.

The inhabitants of the island were in very anxious expectation during the greatest part of the day to obtain a sight of the exiled ruler when he should make his *entrée* to the place of his confinement. Numbers of persons of every description crowded the Marino, the street, and the houses by which he was to pass in the eager hope of catching a glimpse of him. The expectations of most of them were however disappointed, as he did not land till after sun-set, at which time, the majority of the islanders, tired of waiting, and supposing that his landing was deferred until the following morning, had retired to their homes. It was also at this time nearly impossible to recognize his person.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon, with their ladies, Count Las Cases and son, General Gourgaud, and myself, were also accommodated in Mr. Porteous's house.

At a very early hour on the morning of the 18th, Napoleon, accompanied by the admiral and Las Cases, proceeded up to Longwood, a country-seat of the lieut. governor's which he was informed was the place deemed most proper for his future residence. He was mounted on a spirited little black horse, which was lent for the occasion by the governor, Colonel Wilks. On his way up he observed a neat little spot called the Briars, situated about two hundred yards from the road, belonging to a gentleman named Balcombe, who, he was informed, was to be his purveyor, and appeared pleased with its romantic situation.

Longwood is situated on a plain, formed on the summit of a mountain, about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea; and including Deadwood, comprises fourteen or fifteen hundred acres of land, a great part of which is planted with an indigenous tree called gumwood. Its appearance is sombre and unpromising. Napoleon, however, said that he should be more contented to fix his residence there, than to remain in the town as a mark for the prying curiosity of importunate spectators. Unfortunately the house only consisted of five rooms on a ground-floor, which had been built one after the other, according to the wants of the family, and without any regard to either order or convenience, and were totally inadequate for the accommodation of himself and his suite. Several additions were consequently necessary, which it was evident could not be accomplished for some weeks, even under the superintendence of so active an officer as Sir George Cockburn. Upon his return from Longwood, Napoleon proceeded to the Briars, and intimated to Sir George that he should prefer remaining there, until the necessary additions were made to Longwood, to returning to town, provided the proprietor's consent could be obtained. This request was immediately granted. The Briars is the name of an estate romantically situated about a mile and a half from James Town, comprising a few acres of highly cultivated land, excellent fruit and kitchen gardens, plentifully supplied with water, adorned with many delightful shady walks, and long celebrated for the genuine old English hospitality of the proprietor, Mr. Balcombe. About twenty yards from the dwelling house stood a little pavillion, consisting of one good room on the ground-floor, and two garrets, which Napoleon, not willing to cause any inconvenience to the family of his host, selected for his abode. In the lower room his camp-bed was put up, and in this room he ate, slept, read, and dictated a portion of his eventful life. Las Cases and his son were accommodated in one of the garrets above, and Napoleon's premier valet de chambre, and others of his household, slept in the other, and upon the floor in the little hall opposite the entrance of the lower room. At first his dinner was sent ready cooked from the town; but afterwards, Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use. The accommodations were so insufficient, that Napoleon frequently walked out after he had finished his dinner, in order to allow his domestics an opportunity of eating theirs in the room which he had just quitted.

Mr. Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropt in to play a rubber of whist or hold a little *conversazione.* On one occasion he indulged them by participating in a game of blindman's-buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone by this worthy family that could contribute to lessen the inconveniences of his situation. A captain of artillery resided at the Briars as orderly officer; and at first a serjeant and some soldiers were also stationed there as an additional security; but upon a remonstrance being made to Sir George Cockburn, the latter, convinced of their inutility, ordered them to be removed. Counts Bertrand and Montholon, with their respective ladies and children, General Gourgaud, and myself, lived together at Mr. Porteous's, where a suitable table in the

French style was provided by Mr. Balcombe. When any of them were desirous of paying a visit to the Briars or of going out of the town elsewhere, no further restriction was imposed upon them than causing them to be accompanied by myself or by some other British officer, or followed by a soldier. In this manner, they were permitted to visit any part of the island they pleased, except the forts and batteries. They were visited by Colonel and Mrs. Wilks, Lieutenant-colonel and Mrs. Skelton, the members of council, and by most of the respectable inhabitants, and the officers, both military and naval, belonging to the garrison and squadron, and by their wives and families. Little evening parties were occasionally given by the French to their visitors, and matters were managed in such a manner that there was not much *appearance* of constraint. Sometimes the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, accompanied by one or two casual island visitors, passed an hour or two in viewing and occasionally purchasing some of the productions of the East and of Europe, exhibited in the shops of the tradesmen; which, though far from offering the variety or the magnificence of those of the Rue Vivienne, tended nevertheless to *distraire* them a little from the tedious monotony of a St. Helena residence.

Sir George Cockburn gave several well attended balls, to all of which they were invited; and where, with the exception of Napoleon, they frequently went. Attention was paid to their feelings; and, upon the whole, matters, if not entirely satisfactory to them upon some points, were at least placed upon such a footing as to render their existence tolerable, had not the island in itself presented so many local wants and miseries. It would, perhaps, have been much better and more consistent with propriety, had Napoleon been accommodated at Plantation House, until the repairs and additions making to Longwood were finished, instead of being so indifferently provided for in point of lodging at the Briars. I must, however, do the admiral the justice to say, that upon this point I have reason to believe he was not at liberty to carry his own wishes into effect. In the mean time, no exertions were spared by Sir George Cockburn to enlarge and improve the old building, so as to render it capable of containing so great an increase of inmates. For this purpose, all the workmen, not only of the squadron, but in the island, were put in requisition; and Longwood, for nearly two months, presented as busy a scene as has ever been witnessed during the war, in any of his majesty's dock-yards, whilst a fleet was fitting out under the personal directions of some of our first naval commanders. The admiral, indefatigable in his exertions, was frequently seen to arrive at Longwood shortly after sun-rise, stimulating by his presence the St. Helena workmen, who, in general lazy and indolent, beheld with astonishment the despatch and activity of a man-of-war succeed to the characteristic idleness which, until then, they had been accustomed both to witness and to practise.

Every day bodies of two or three hundred seamen were employed in carrying up from James Town, timber and other materials for building, together with furniture, which, though the best was purchased at an enormous expense wherever it could be procured, was paltry and old fashioned. So deficient was the island in the means of transport, that almost every thing, even the very stones for building, were carried up the steep side-path on the heads and shoulders of the seamen, occasionally assisted by fatigue-parties of the fifty-third regiment. By means of incessant labour, Longwood House was enlarged so as to admit, on the 9th of December, Napoleon and part of his household, Count and Countess Montholon and children, Count and young Las Cases.

Napoleon himself had a small narrow bed-room on the ground-floor, a writing-room of the same dimensions, and a sort of small ante-chamber, in which a bath was put up. The writing-room opened into a dark and low apartment, which was converted into a dining-room. The opposite wing consisted of a bed-room larger than that of Napoleon's, which, with an ante-chamber and closet, formed the accommodation for Count and Countess Montholon and son. From the dining-room a door led to a drawing-room, about eighteen feet by fifteen. In prolongation of this, one longer, much higher, and more airy, was built of wood by Sir George Cockburn, with three windows on each side, and a viranda leading to the garden. This, although it laboured under the inconvenience of becoming intolerably hot towards the evening, whenever the sun shone forth in tropical splendour, by the rays penetrating the wood of which it was composed, was the only good room in the building. Las Cases had a room next the kitchen,* which had formerly been occupied by some of Colonel Skelton's servants, through the ceiling of which an opening was cut so as to admit a very narrow stair, leading to a sort of cockloft above, where his son reposed. The garrets over the old building were floored, and converted into apartments for Marchand, Cipriani, St. Denis, Josephine, &c. From the sloping structure of the roof, it was impossible to stand upright in those garrets, unless in the centre, and the sun, penetrating through the slating, rendered them occasionally insupportably hot. Additional rooms were constructing for them and for General Gourgaud, the orderly officer, and myself, who, in the mean time, were accommodated with tents. Lieutenant Blood, and Mr. Cooper, carpenter of the Northumberland, with several artificers from the ship, also resided upon the premises; the two former under an old studding sail, which had been converted into a tent. A very liberal table, (considering St. Helena,) was found by order of Sir George Cockburn, for the orderly officers and myself.

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* Some time afterwards an apartment was built for the count and his son at the back of the house, which was subsequently divided into a bed and sitting room, with one for their servant. They were so small, that there was not room for a chair between the bedsteads of the father and son; and so low, that the ceiling could be touched by a person standing on the floor.

Count and Countess Bertrand and family were lodged in a little house at Hut's Gate, about a mile from Longwood, which, though uncomfortable, was nevertheless hired at their own request, and was the only one, which could be procured at a moderate rate in the neighbourhood, as it was found impossible to accommodate them at Longwood, until a new house, the foundation of which was immediately laid down by Sir George Cock burn, could be finished.

During the time that Napoleon resided at the Briars, I kept no regular journal, and consequently can give only a brief outline of what took place. His time was occupied principally in dictating to Las Cases and his son, or to Counts

Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud, some of whom daily waited upon him. He occasionally received visitors, (who came to pay their respects to him,) on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some who had received that permission, were presented to him, when at Mr. Balcombe's in the evening. During the whole time he was there, he never left the grounds but once, when he strolled down to the little residence of Major Hodson of the St. Helena regiment, where he conversed with the Major and Mrs. Hodson for half an hour, taking great notice of their children, who were extremely handsome. He frequently, however, walked for hours in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of these walks, he stopped and pointed out to me the frightful precipices which environed us, and said, "Behold your country's generosity, *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour unsuspectingly confided himself to them. I once thought that you were free. I now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the powerful, whenever your government has any object in view."

At another time he discovered through the interpretation of Las Cases, that an old Malay, who was hired by Mr. Balcombe as gardener, had been entrapped from his native place on board of an English ship several years before, brought to St. Helena, smuggled on shore, illegally sold for a slave, let out to whoever would hire him, and his earnings chiefly appropriated to his master. This he communicated to the admiral, who immediately set on foot an enquiry; the probable result would have been the emancipation of poor Toby, had the admiral remained in command.*

Arrangements were made with the purveyor to supply certain quantities of provisions, wines, &c. The scale of allowances was liberal, and such as was deemed sufficient for the service of the house by Cipriani, the maître d'hotêl. It is true, that sometimes the provisions were deficient in quantity or bad in quality, but this was often caused, either by the absolute want of resources on the island, or by accident, and was generally remedied wherever such remedy could be applied, by Sir George Cockburn.

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* When Napoleon discovered, some time after the departure of Sir George Cockburn, that the poor man had not been emancipated, he directed Mr. Balcombe to purchase him from his master, set him at liberty, and charge the amount to Count Bertrand's private account. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, thought proper to prohibit this, and the man was still in a state of slavery when I left St. Helena.

A space of about twelve miles in circumference was allotted to Napoleon, within which he might ride or walk, without being accompanied by a British officer. Within this space was placed the camp of the 53d, at Deadwood, about a mile from Longwood House, and another at Hut's Gate, opposite Bertrand's, close to whose door there was an officer's guard. An arrangement was made with Bertrand, by means of which, persons furnished with a pass from him, had permission to enter Longwood grounds. This was not productive of inconvenience, as no person could, in the first instance, go to Bertraud's, without permission from the admiral, the governor, or Sir George Bingham, and consequently no improper persons were permitted to have access to him. The French also were allowed to send sealed letters to the inhabitants and others *residing* upon the island, a regulation not likely to prove injurious, as it was evident, that if they wished to transmit letters to Europe, this could only be attempted after previous arrangements having been made; and it was highly improbable that they would send, through the medium of an English servant, or dragoon, letters, the contents of which would compromise either themselves or their friends, when the more simple and natural mode of delivering them *personally* to the individuals for whom they were intended, was entirely in their power, and with whom they were at liberty to visit and converse at pleasure.*

A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and picquets, was placed round the limits. At nine o'clock the sentinels were drawn in and stationed in communication with each other; surrounding the house in such positions, that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinized by them. At the entrance of the house double sentinels were placed, and patroles were continually passing backward and forward. After nine, Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field-officer; and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the counter-sign. This state of affairs continued until day-light in the morning. Every landing-place in the island, and, indeed, every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a picquet, and sentinels were even placed upon every *goat-path* leading to the sea, though, in truth, the obstacles presented by nature in almost all the paths in that direction, would, of themselves, have proved insurmountable to so unwieldy a person as Napoleon.

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* A strong proof of this is, that during the nine months Sir George Cockburn had this system put in force, not a single letter was ever sent to Europe, unless through the regular government channels.

From the various signal-posts on the island ships are frequently discovered at twenty-four leagues distance, and always long before they can approach the shore. Two ships of war continually cruised, one to windward and the other to leeward, to whom signals were made as soon as a vessel was discovered from the posts on shore. Every ship, except a British man of war, was accompanied down to the road by one of the cruizers, who remained with her until she was either permitted to anchor, or was sent away. No foreign vessels were allowed to anchor unless under circumstances of great distress, in which case, no person from them was permitted to land, and an officer and party from one of the ships of war was sent on board to take charge of them as long as they remained, as well as in order to prevent any improper communication. Every fishing-boat belonging to the island was numbered, and anchored every evening at sun-set, under the superintendence of a lieutenant in the navy. No boats, excepting guard-boats from the ships of war, which pulled about the island all night, were allowed to be down after sun-set. The orderly officer was also instructed to ascertain the actual presence of Napoleon, twice, in the twenty-four hours, which was done with as much delicacy as possible. In fact, every human precaution to prevent escape, short of actually incarcerating or enchaining him, was adopted by Sir George Cockburn.

The officers of the 53d, and several of the most respectable inhabitants, the officers of the St. Helena corps and their wives were introduced to Napoleon, at whose table some were weekly invited to dine, and amongst them Mr. Doveton, Miss Doveton, Colonel and Mrs. Skelton, Captain and Mrs. Younghusband, Mr. Balcombe and family, &c. Officers and other respectable passengers from India and China, came in numbers to Longwood to request a presentation to the fallen chief; in which expectation, they were rarely disappointed, unless indisposition on his part, or the shortness of their stay on the island prevented it. Many ladies and gentlemen, who came up at an inconvenient time, have remained in my room long after the fore-top-sail of the ship which was to waft them to England, was loosed, in the hope of Napoleon's presenting himself at the windows of his apartments. I have frequently been unable to withstand the solicitations of more than one anxious fair expectant to place some of the servants of the house in a situation, where they might be enabled to apprize them of his approach to the windows or door of the drawing-room, whereby they might be afforded an opportunity of stealing a glance at the renowned captive.

Some short time after his arrival at Longwood, I communicated to him the news of Murat's death: He heard it with calmness, and immediately demanded, if he had perished on the field of battle?

At first, I hesitated to tell him that his brother-in-law had been executed like a criminal. On his repeating the question, I informed him of the manner in which Murat had been put to death, which he listened to without any change of countenance. I also communicated the intelligence of the death of Ney. "He was a brave man, nobody more so; but he was a madman," said he. "He has died without having the esteem of mankind. He betrayed me at Fontainbleau: the proclamation against the Bourbons, which he said in his defence I caused to be given to him, was written by himself, and I never knew any thing about that document until it was read to the troops. It is true, that I sent him orders to obey me. What could he do? His troops abandoned him. Not only the troops, but the people wished to join me."

I had lent him Miss Williams's "Present State of France" to read. Two or three days afterwards he said to me, while dressing, "That is a vile production of that lady of yours. It is a heap of falsehoods. This," opening his shirt, and shewing his flannel waistcoat, "is the only coat of mail I ever wore. My hat lined with steel too! There is the hat I wore," pointing to the one he always carried. "Oh, she has doubtless been well paid for all the malice and the falsehoods she has poured forth."

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much depending upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was in general a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock, in which case he read or wrote until six or seven, at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to repose for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closing of every cranny through which a ray of light might pass, although I have sometimes seen him fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad daylight. When ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast time, or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he breakfasted in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten; when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven: in either case *à la fourchette.* After breakfast, he generally dictated to some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock received such visitors, as, by previous appointment, had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback, or in the carriage for an hour or two, accompanied by all his suite; then returned, and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally played a game at chess, at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes or half an hour in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high seasoned, or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which I have seen him sometimes pare the outside brown part off; he was also partial to mutton chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner, which was generally much diluted with water. After dinner, when the servants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess or at whist, but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or conversed with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bed-room at ten or eleven, and to rest, immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in his own apartment *(dans l'intérieur)*, he sometimes sent for one of his suite to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day, nor, since I knew him, had he ever taken more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time. I have also been informed by those who have been in his service for fifteen years, that he had never exceeded that quantity since they first knew him.

On the 14th of April, the Phaeton frigate, Captain Stanfell, arrived from England, having on board Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Lady Lowe, Sir Thomas Reade, Deputy Adjt. General, Major Gorrequer, aid-de-camp to Sir Hudson Lowe, Lieut.-colonel Lyster, inspector of militia, Major Emmet of the engineers, Mr. Baxter, deputy inspector of hospitals, Lieutenants Wortham and Jackson of the engineers and staff corps, and other officers. The following day, Sir Hudson Lowe landed and was installed as governor, with the customary forms. A message was then sent to Longwood that the new governor would visit Napoleon at nine o'clock on the following morning. Accordingly, a little before that time, Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, in the midst of a pelting storm of rain and wind, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, and followed by his numerous staff. As the hour fixed upon was rather unseasonable, and one, at which Napoleon had never received any person, intimation was given to the governor on his arrival, that Napoleon was indisposed, and could not receive any visitors that morning. This appeared to disconcert Sir Hudson Lowe, who, after pacing up and down before the windows of the drawing-room for a few minutes, demanded at what time on the following day he could be introduced: two o'clock was fixed upon for the interview, at which time he arrived, accompanied as before by the admiral, and followed by his staff. They were at first ushered into the dining-room, behind which was the saloon, where they were to be received. A proposal was made by Sir George Cockburn to Sir Hudson Lowe, that the latter should be introduced by him, as being, in his opinion, the most official and proper manner of resigning to him the charge of the prisoner; for which purpose, Sir George suggested, that they should enter the room together. This was acceded to by Sir Hudson Lowe. At the door of the drawing room stood Novarre, one of the French valets, whose business it was to announce the names of the persons introduced. After waiting a few minutes, the door was opened and the governor called for. As soon as the word Governor, was pronounced, Sir Hudson Lowe started up, and stepped forward so hastily, that he entered the room before Sir George Cockburn was well apprized of it. The door was then closed, and when the admiral presented himself, the valet, not having heard his name called, told him that he could not enter. Sir Hudson Lowe remained about a quarter of an hour with Napoleon, during which time, the conversation was chiefly carried on in Italian, and subsequently the officers of his staff were introduced. The admiral did not again apply for admittance.

On the 18th I brought up some newspapers to Napoleon, who, after asking me some questions concerning the meeting of parliament, inquired who had lent the newspapers? I replied, that the admiral had lent them to me. Napoleon said, "I believe that he was rather ill treated the day he came up with the new governor, what does he say about it?" I replied, "the admiral conceived it as an insult offered to him, and certainly felt greatly offended at it. Some explanation has, however, been given by General Montholon upon the subject." Napoleon said, "I shall never see him with pleasure, but he did not announce himself as being desirous of seeing me." I replied, "he wished to introduce officially to you the new governor, and thought, that, as he was to act in that capacity, it was not necessary to be previously announced." Napoleon answered, "He should have sent me word that he wanted to see me by Bertrand; but," continued he, "he wished to embroil me with the new governor, and for that purpose persuaded him to come up here at nine o'clock in the morning, though he well knew that I never had received any persons, nor ever would, at that hour. It is a pity that a man who really has talents, for I believe him to be a very good officer in his own service, should have behaved in the manner he has done to me. It shews the greatest want of generosity to insult the unfortunate; because, insulting those who are in your power, and consequently cannot make any opposition, is a certain sign of an ignoble mind." I said, that I was perfectly convinced the whole was a mistake, that the admiral never had the smallest intention of insulting or embroiling him with the governor. He resumed, "I, in my misfortunes, sought an asylum, and instead of that I have found contempt, ill-treatment, and insult. Shortly after I came on board of his ship, as I did not wish to sit at table for two or three hours, guzzling down wine to make myself drunk, I got up from table, and walked out upon deck. While I was going out, he said, in a contemptuous manner, 'I believe the *general* has never read Lord Chesterfield;' meaning, that I was deficient in politeness, and did not know how to conduct myself at table." I endeavoured to explain to him that the English, and above all, naval officers, were not in the habit of going through many forms, and that it was wholly unintentional on the part of the admiral. "If," said he, "Sir George wanted to see Lord St. Vincent, or Lord Keith, would he not have sent beforehand, and asked, at what hour it might be convenient to see him; and should not I be treated with at least as much respect as either of them? Putting out of the question that I have been a Crowned head, I think," said he, laughing, "that the actions which I have performed, are at least as well known as any thing they have done." I endeavoured again to excuse the admiral, upon which he recalled to my mind, what he had just related about Lord Chesterfield, and asked me "what could *that* mean?"

General Montholon came in at this moment with a translation of a paper sent by Sir Hudson Lowe, which the domestics, who were willing to remain, were required to sign; it was accompanied by the following letter:—*

Downing Street, 1° *Janvier*, 1816.

Je dois à present vous faire connaître, que la plaisir de S. A. R. le Prince Regent, est, qu'à votre arrivée à Ste. Hélène, vous communiqueriez à toutes les personnes de la suite de Napoléon Bonaparte, y compris les serviteurs doméstiques, qu'ils sont libres de quitter l'isle immediatement pour rétourner en Europe; ajoutant, qu'il ne sera permis à aucun de rester à Ste. Hélène, excepté ceux qui déclareront par un écrit que sera déposé dans vos mains, que c'est leur désir de rester dans l'isle et de participer aux restrictions qu'il est nécessaire d'imposer sur Napoléon Bonaparte personnellement.

(*Signé*) BATHURST.

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* The reader will not consider me to be accountable for the accuracy of the French sent from Plantation House to Longwood.

Ceux qui parmi eux se détermineront à retourner en Europe, devront être envoyé par le premier occasion favorable au Cap de Bonne Espérance, le gouverneur de cette colonie sera chargé de pourvoir aux personnes des moyens de transport en Europe.*

(*Signé*) BATHURST.

The tenor of the accompanying declaration, which the domestics were thus required to sign, was not approved of by Napoleon, who, moreover, pronounced it to be too literally translated to be easily comprehended by a Frenchman. He accordingly desired Count Montholon to retire into the next room, where the following was substituted:—“ Nous soussignés, voulant continuer à rester au service de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, consentons, quelqu' affreux que soit le séjour de Ste. Hélène, à y rester, nous soumettant aux restrictions, quoiqu'injustes et arbitraires, qu'on a imposées à S. M. et aux personnes de son service.” —“ There,” said he, “ let those who please sign that; but do not attempt to influence them, either one way or the other.”

The demand made to the domestics to sign the paper sent by Sir H. Lowe, had produced a wish for further explanation amongst them; and some who applied to Sir Thomas Reade for that purpose, received answers of a nature to inculcate a belief that those who signed it, would be compelled to remain in the island during the lifetime of Bonaparte. This, however, did not prevent any of them from signing the paper which was presented to them.

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* The translation of this, and of the document signed by the domestics, will be found in the Appendix, No. II. and III.

19*th*.—The weather has been extremely bad for some days, which has contributed, with other circumstances, to make Napoleon a little dissatisfied. "In this *isola maladetta*," said he, "there is neither sun nor moon to be seen for the greatest part of the year. Constant rain and fog. It is worse than Capri. Have you ever been at Capri?" continued he. I replied in the affirmative. "There," said he, "you can have every thing you want from the continent in a few hours." He afterwards made a few remarks upon some absurd falsehoods which had been published in the ministerial papers respecting him; and asked if it were "possible that the English could be so foolishly credulous as to believe all the stuff we published about him."

21*st*.—Captain Hamilton of the Havannah frigate had an audience with Napoleon in the garden. Napoleon told him that when he (Napoleon) had arrived on the island, he had been asked what he desired to have? He therefore begged of him to say that he desired his liberty, or, *le bourreau.* That the English ministers had unworthily violated the most sacred rights of hospitality towards him by declaring him a prisoner, which savages would not have done in the situation in which he stood.

Colonel and Miss Wilks were to proceed to England in the Havannah. Before their departure, they came up to Longwood, and had a long interview with Napoleon. He was highly pleased with Miss Wilks, (a highly accomplished and elegant young lady,) and gallantly told her that "she exceeded the description which had been given of her to him."

24*th.*—The weather still gloomy. Napoleon at first was out of spirits, but gradually became enlivened. Conversed much about the admiral, whom he professed to esteem as a man of talent in his profession. "He is not," said he, "a man of a bad heart; on the contrary, I believe him to be capable of a generous action; but he is rough, overbearing, vain, choleric, and capricious; never consulting any body; jealous of his authority; caring little of the manner in which he exercises it, and sometimes violent without dignity."

He then made some observations about the bullocks which had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope by the government, and amongst which a great mortality had taken place. "The admiral," said he, " ought to have contracted for them, instead of making them government property. It is well known that whatever belongs to a government is never taken any care of, and is plundered by every body. If he had contracted with some person, I will venture to say very few would have died, instead of a third, as has been the case." He then asked me many questions about the relative price of articles in England and St. Helena, and concluded by inquiring if I took any fees for attending sick people on the island. I replied in the negative, which seemed to surprise him. " Corvisart," said he, " notwithstanding his being my first physician, possessed of great wealth, and in the habit of receiving many rich presents from me, constantly took a Napoleon for each visit he paid to the sick. In your country particularly every man has his trade: the member of parliament takes money for his vote, the ministers for their places, the lawyers for their opinion."

26th.—Napoleon asked several questions relative to the ships which had been seen to approach the island. Was anxious to know if Lady Bingham, who had been expected for some time, had arrived. Observed how anxious Sir George Bingham must be about her. Asked me if the ship was furnished with a chronometer by government; to which I replied in the negative. He observed that the vessel might very probably miss the island, through the want of one. "How shameful it is," said he, "for your government to put three or four hundred men on board of a ship destined for this place without a chronometer, thereby running the risk of ship and cargo, of the value perhaps of half a million, together with the lives of so many *poveri diavoli*, for the sake of saving three or four hundred francs for a watch. I," continued he, "ordered that every ship employed in the French service should be supplied with one. It is a weakness in your government not to be accounted for." He then asked me if it were true that a court of inquiry was then holding upon some officer for having made too free with the bottle. "Is it a crime," added he, "for the English to get drunk, and will a court-martial be the consequence? for, if that were the case, you would have nothing but courts-martial every day. —— was a little merry on board every day after dinner." I observed that there was a wide difference between being merry and getting drunk. He laughed and repeated what he had said relative to courts-martial. "Is it true," said he then, "that they are sending out a house and furniture for me, as there are so many lies in your newspapers, that I have my doubts, especially as I have heard nothing about it officially? I told him that Sir Hudson Lowe had assured me of the fact, and that Sir Thomas Reade professed to have seen both the house and the furniture.

Many changes relative to the treatment of the French have taken place since Sir Hudson arrived. Mr. Brooke, the colonial secretary, Major Gorrequer, Sir Hudson's aid-de-camp, and other official persons, went round to the different shopkeepers in the town, ordering them, in the name of the governor, not to give credit to any of the French, or to sell them any article, unless for ready money, under pain of not only losing the amount of the sum so credited, but of suffering such other punishment as the governor might think proper to award. They were further directed to hold no communication whatsoever with them, without special permission from the governor, under pain of being turned off the island.

Many of the officers of the 53d, who were in the habit of calling to see Madame Bertrand at Hut's Gate, received hints that their visits were not pleasing to the authorities lately arrived; and the officer of the Hut's Gate guard was ordered to report the names of all persons entering Bertrand's house. Sentinels were placed in different directions to prevent the approach of visitors, several of whom, including some ladies, were turned back. A sensation of unwillingness, or rather fear, to approach the exiles, very different from the feeling which existed a few days ago, appeared to be pretty general amongst the inhabitants, and even amongst the military and naval officers. The governor was very minute in his inquiries to those persons who had formerly conversed with Napoleon, or any of his suite. Several of the officers of the 53d went to Hut's Gate to take leave of Countess Bertrand, (to use their own words,) as they declared the impossibility there was for men of honour to comply with the new regulations. It was expected and required that all persons who visited at Hut's Gate, or at Longwood, should make a report to the governor or to Sir Thomas Reade of the conversations they had held with the French. Several additional sentinels were placed around Longwood House and grounds.

May 3rd.—The weather has been extremely wet and foggy, with high wind for several days, during which time Napoleon did not stir out of doors. Messengers and letters continually arrived from Plantation House. The governor was apparently very anxious to see Napoleon, and seemingly distrustful, although the residents of Longwood were assured of his actual presence by the sound of his voice. He had some communications with Count Bertrand relative to the necessity which he said there was, that some of his officers should see Napoleon daily. He also came to Longwood frequently himself, and, finally, after some difficulty, succeeded in obtaining an interview with

Napoleon in his bed-chamber, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Some days before, he sent for me, asked a variety of questions concerning the captive, walked round the house several times, and before the windows, measuring and laying down the plan of a new ditch, which he said he would have dug, in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing. On his arrival at the angle, formed by the union of two of the old ditches, he observed a tree, the branches of which considerably overhung it. This appeared to excite considerable alarm in his excellency's breast, as he desired me to send instantly for Mr. Porteous, the superintendent of the company's gardens. Some minutes having elapsed after I had despatched a messenger for that gentleman, the governor, who had his eyes continually fixed upon the tree, desired me, in a hasty manner, to go and fetch Mr. Porteous instantly myself. On my return with him, I found Sir Hudson Lowe walking up and down, contemplating the object which appeared to be such a source of alarm. In a hurried manner, he ordered Mr. Porteous to send some men instantly to have the tree grubbed up, and before leaving the ground, directed me in an undertone to "see that it was done."

On the 4th, Sir Hudson Lowe went to see Count Bertrand, with whom he had an hour's conversation, which did not appear to be of a nature very pleasing to him, as, on retiring, he mounted his horse, muttering something, and evidently out of humour. Shortly afterwards, I learned the purport of his visit. He commenced by saying, that the French made a great many complaints without any reason; that, considering their situations, they were very well treated, and ought to be thankful, instead of making any complaints. It appeared to him, however, that instead of being so, they abused the liberal treatment which was practised towards them. That he was determined to assure himself of General Bonaparte's actual presence daily, by the observation of an officer appointed by him, and that this officer should visit him, at fixed hours, for such purpose. During the whole of it, he spoke in a very authoritative and indeed contemptuous manner, frequently referring to the great powers with which he was invested.

5th.—Napoleon sent Marchand for me at about nine o'clock. Was introduced by the back-door into his bed-room, a description of which I shall endeavour to give as minutely and as correctly as possible. It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbace. Two small windows, without pullies, looking towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white long cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cypher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp-bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers: and an old book-case with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door, there was a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire-place, an old fashioned sofa covered with white long cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one. A chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the Empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and water-jug of the same metal, in the left hand corner.

Napoleon, after a few questions of no importance, asked me in both French and Italian in the presence of Count Las Cases, the following questions:—"You know that it was in consequence of my application that you were appointed to attend upon me. Now I want to know from you precisely and truly, as a man of honour, in what situation you conceive yourself to be, whether as my surgeon, as M. Maingaud was, or the surgeon of a prison-ship and prisoners? Whether you have orders to report every trifling occurrence, or illness, or what I say to you, to the governor? Answer me candidly; What situation do you conceive yourself to be in?" I replied, " As your surgeon, and to attend upon you and your suite. I have received no other orders than to make an immediate report in case of your being taken seriously ill, in order to have promptly the advice and assistance of other physicians." " First obtaining my consent to call in others," demanded he, " is it not so?" I answered, that I would certainly obtain his previous consent. He then said, " If you were appointed as surgeon to a prison, and to report my conversations to the governor, whom I take to be *un capo di spioni*, I would never see you again. Do not," continued he, (on my replying that I was placed about him as a surgeon, and by no means as a spy,) " suppose that I take you for a spy; on the contrary, I have never had the least occasion to find fault with you, and I have a friendship for you and an esteem for your character, a greater proof of which I could not give you than asking you candidly your own opinion of your situation; as you being an Englishman, and paid by the English government, might perhaps be obliged to do what I have asked." I replied as before, and that in my professional capacity I did not consider myself to belong to any particular country. "If I am taken seriously ill," said he, "then acquaint me with your opinion, and ask my consent to call in others. This governor, during the few days that I was melancholy, and had a mental affliction in consequence of the treatment I receive, which prevented me from going out, in order that I might not *ennuyer* others with my afflictions, wanted to send his physician to me under the pretext of inquiring after my health. I desired Bertrand to tell him that I had not sufficient confidence in his physician to take any thing from his hands. That if I were really ill, I would send for you, in whom I have confidence, but that a physician was of no use in such cases, and that I only wanted to be left alone. I understand that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me, if I did not stir out. Any person," continued he, with much emotion, "who endeavours to force his way into my apartment, shall be a corpse the moment he enters it. If he ever eats bread or meat again, I am not Napoleon. This I am determined on; I know that I shall be killed afterwards, as what can one do against a *camp?* I have faced death too many times to fear it. Besides, I am convinced that this governor has been sent out by Lord ———. I told him a few days ago, that if he wanted to put an end to me, he would have a very good opportunity by sending somebody to force his way into my chamber. That I would immediately mak a corpse of the first that entered, and then I should be of course despatched, and he might write home to his government that '*Bonaparte*' was killed in a brawl. I also told him to leave me alone, and not to torment me with his hateful presence. I have seen Prussians, Tartars, Cossacs, Calmucks, &c. but never before in my life have I beheld so ill favoured, and so forbidding a countenance. *Il porte le —— empreint sur son visage.*"

I endeavoured to convince him that the English ministry would never be capable of what he supposed, and that such was not the character of the nation. "I had reason to complain of the admiral," said he; "but, though he treated me roughly, he never behaved in such a manner as this *Prussian*. A few days ago, he in a manner insisted upon seeing me, when I was undressed in my chamber, and a prey to melancholy. The admiral never asked to see me a second time, when it was intimated to him that I was unwell or undressed; as he well knew, that although I did not go out, I was still to be found."

After this, he mentioned his apprehensions of being afflicted with an attack of gout. I recommended him to take much more exercise. "What can I do," replied he, "in this execrable isle, where you cannot ride a mile without being wet through: an island, that even the English themselves complain of, though used to humidity?" He concluded by making some severe remarks upon the governor's conduct, in having sent his aid-de-camp and secretary round the shops, forbidding the shopkeepers to give the French credit, under pain of severe punishment.

6th.—Had some conversation with Napoleon upon the same subject as yesterday, which commenced by my submitting to him, that according to the strict letter of the conversation of yesterday, it would be impossible for me to reply to any question addressed to me relative to him or to his affairs, whether made by the governor or any one else, which he must be aware, was, in my situation, impossible. Moreover, that I had been, from the time of my arrival, and was then, frequently employed as a medium of communication to the authorities of the island, which I hoped I had executed to his satisfaction. He replied, " Are you to be my surgeon, or surgeon *d'une galère*; and are you expected to report what you observe or hear?" I answered, " I am your surgeon, and not a spy, and one in whom I hope you may place confidence; I am not surgeon *d'une galère*, nor do I consider it imperative on me to report any thing which is not contrary to my allegiance as a British officer, &c." I also endeavoured to explain, that I would regulate my conduct with respect to his conversations by the rules which existed to that effect amongst *galantuomini*, and as I would do, were I attached in a similar capacity to an English nobleman; but that total silence was out of my power, if he wished me to preserve any communication with the governor or with any other English persons on the island. He replied, that all he wanted of me was to act as a *galantuomo*, and "as you would do were you surgeon to Lord St. Vincent. I do not mean to bind you to silence, or to prevent you from repeating any *bavardage* you may hear me say; but I want to prevent you from allowing yourself to be cajoled and made a spy of, unintentionally on your part, by this governor. After that to your God, your duty is to be paid to your own country and sovereign, and your next, to your patients."

"During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bed-chamber," continued he, "one of the first things which he proposed was to send you away, and to take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated twice; and so earnest was he to gain his object, that although I gave him a most decided refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it. I never saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite to my sofa, and on the little table between us there was a cup of coffee. His physiognomy made such an unfavourable impression upon me, that I thought his looks had poisoned it, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window; I could not have swallowed it for the world."

Count Las Cases, who entered Napoleon's room a few minutes after the departure of the governor, told me, that the emperor had said to him,—"*Mon Dieu! c'est une figure bien sinistre, j'ose à peine le dire, mais c'est à ne pas prendre une tasse de café, s'il était démeuré un instant seul auprès.*"

12*th.*—A proclamation was issued yesterday by Sir Hudson Lowe, prohibiting "any person from receiving or being the bearer of any letters or communications from General Bonaparte, the officers of his suite, his followers or servants, of any description, or to deliver any to them, under pain of being arrested immediately and dealt with accordingly.

14*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room; he complained of being affected with catarrhal symptoms, the cause of which I attributed to his having walked out in the wet with very thin shoes, and recommended him to wear galoches, which he ordered Marchand to provide. "I have promised," added he, "to see a number of people to-day; and, though I am indisposed, I shall do so." Just at this moment some of the visitors came close to the window of his dressing-room, which was open, tried to put aside the curtain and peep in. Napoleon shut the window, asked some questions about Lady Moira, and observed, "The governor sent an invitation to Bertrand for General Bonaparte to come to Plantation House to meet Lady Moira. I told Bertrand to return no answer to it. If he really wanted me to see her, he would have put Plantation House in the limits; but to send such an invitation, knowing that I must go in charge of a guard if I wished to avail myself of it, was an insult. Had he sent word that Lady Moira was sick, fatigued, or pregnant, I would have gone to see her; although I think, that under all the circumstances, she might have come to see me, or Madame Bertrand, or Montholon, as she was free and unshackled. The first sovereigns in the world have not been ashamed to pay me a visit."

"It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blucher, and is the writer of some official letters to your government, descriptive of part of the operations of 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him, and asked him, *Est-ce vous, Monsieur?* He replied, 'Yes.' I told him that they were *pleines de faussetés et de sottises.* He shrugged up his shoulders, appeared confused, and replied, '*J'ai cru voir cela.*' If," continued he, "those letters were the only accounts he sent, he betrayed his country."

Count Bertrand came in, and announced that several persons had arrived to see him, besides those who had received appointments for the day. Amongst other names, that of Arbuthnot was mentioned. Napoleon asked me who he was. I answered, that I believed him to be brother to the person who had been ambassador at Constantinople. "Ah, yes, yes," said Napoleon with a sly smile, "when Sebastiani was there. You may say that I shall receive them."

"Have you conversed much with the governor's physician?" said Napoleon. I replied in the affirmative, adding, that he was the chief of the medical staff, but not attached to the governor as his body physician. "What sort of a man is he—does he look like an honest man, or a man of talent?" I replied, that his appearance was very much in his favour, and that he was considered to be a man of talent and of science.

16*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe had an interview of about half an hour with Napoleon, which did not appear to be satisfactory. Saw Napoleon walking in the garden, in a very thoughtful manner a few minutes subsequent to the governor's departure, and gave to him the *Dictionnaire des Girouettes* and a few newspapers. After he had asked me from whom I had procured them, he said, "Here has been this *viso di boja a tormentarmi.* Tell him that I never want to see him, and that I wish he may not come again to annoy me with his hateful presence. Let him never again come near me, unless it is with orders to despatch me; he will then find my breast ready for the blow; but until then, let me be free of his odious countenance; I cannot accustom myself to it."

17*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Demanded what the news was. I informed him that the ladies he had received a few days before were highly delighted with his manners, especially as from what they had read and heard, they had been prepossessed with opinions of a very different nature. "Ah," said he, laughing, "I suppose that they imagined I was some ferocious horned animal."

Some conversation occurred touching what Sir Robert Wilson had written respecting him about Jaffa, Captain Wright, &c. I observed, that as those assertions had never been fully contradicted, they were believed by numbers of English. "Bah," replied Napoleon, "those calumnies will fall of themselves, especially now that there are so many English in France, who will soon find out that they are all falsehoods. Were Wilson himself not convinced of the untruth of the statements which he had once believed, do you think that he would have assisted Lavalette to escape out of prison?"

19*th*.—Napoleon in very good humour. Told him that the late governor of Java, Mr. Raffles, and his staff, had arrived on their way to England, and were very desirous of having the honour of paying their respects to him. "What kind of a man is the governor?" I replied, Mr. Urmston informed me, that he is *un bravissimo uomo;* and possessed of great learning and talents. "Well, then," said he, "I shall see them in two or three hours when I am dressed."

"This governor," said he, "*è un imbecille.* He asked Bertrand the other day, if he (Bertrand) ever had asked any of the passengers bound to England, whether they intended to go to France, as, if he had done so, he must not continue such a practice. Bertrand replied, that he certainly had, and moreover, had begged of some to tell his relations that they were in good health. 'But,' says this imbecile, 'you must not do so.' 'Why,' says Bertrand, 'has not your government permitted me to write as many letters as I like, and can any government deny me the liberty of speaking?' Bertrand," continued he, "ought to have replied, that galley-slaves and prisoners under sentence of death were permitted to inquire after their relations." He then observed how unnecessary and vexatious it was to require that an officer should accompany him, should he be desirous of visiting the interior of the island. "It is all right," continued he, "to keep me away from the town and the sea-side. I would never desire to approach either the one or the other. All that is necessary for my security, is to guard well the sea-borders of this rock. Let him place his picquets round the island close by the sea and in communication with each other, which he might easily do, with the number of men he has, and it would be impossible for me to escape. Cannot he moreover put a few horsemen in motion when he knows I am going out? Cannot he place them on the hills, or where he likes, without letting me know any thing about it, *I will never appear to see them.* Cannot he do this, without obliging me to tell Poppleton that I want to ride out—not that I have any objection to Poppleton—I love a good soldier of any nation; but I will not do any thing which may lead people to imagine that I am a prisoner—I have been forced here contrary to the law of nations, and I will never recognise their right in detaining me. My asking an officer to accompany me would be a tacit acknowledgment of it. I have no intention to attempt an escape, although I have not given my word of honour not to try. Neither will I ever give it, as that would be acknowledging myself a prisoner, which I will never do. Cannot they impose additional restrictions when ships arrive; and above all, not allow any ship to sail until my actual presence is ascertained, without inflicting such useless, and because useless, vexatious restrictions. It is necessary for my health that I should ride seven or eight leagues daily, but I will not do so with an officer, or a guard over me. It has always been my maxim, that a man shews more real courage in supporting and resisting the calamities and misfortunes which befal him, than by making away with himself. *That* is the action of a losing gamester, or a ruined spendthrift, and is a want of courage, instead of a proof of it. Your government will be mistaken, if they imagine, that, by seeking every means to annoy me, such as sending me here, depriving me of all communication with my nearest and dearest relatives, so that I am ignorant if one of my blood exists, isolating me from the world, imposing useless and vexatious restrictions which are daily getting worse, sending *les fèces des hommes* as keepers, they will weary out my patience, and induce me to commit suicide. They are mistaken. Even if I ever had entertained a thought of the kind, the idea of the gratification it would afford to them, would prevent me from completing it."

"That *palace*," said he, laughing, "which they say they have sent out for me, is so much money thrown into the sea. I would rather that they had sent me four hundred volumes of books, than all their furniture and houses. In the first place it will require some years to build it, and before that time I shall be no more. All must be done by the labour of those poor soldiers and sailors. I do not wish it, I do not wish to incur the hatred of those poor fellows, who are already sufficiently miserable by having been sent to this detestable place, and harassed in the manner they are. They will load me with execrations, supposing me to be the author of all their hardships, and perhaps may wish to put an end to me." I observed, that no English soldier would become an assassin. He interrupted me, by saying, "I have no reason to complain of the English soldiers or sailors; on the contrary, they treat me with every respect, and even appear to feel for me."

He then spoke of some English officers. "Moore," said he, "was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and caused perhaps by his information having misled him." This eulogium he repeated more than once; and observed, that he had commanded the reserve in Egypt, where he had behaved very well, and displayed talent. I remarked, that Moore was always in front of the battle, and was generally unfortunate enough to be wounded. "Ah!" said he, "It is necessary sometimes. He died gloriously—he died like a soldier. Menou was a man of courage, but no soldier. You ought not to have taken Egypt. If Kleber had lived, you would never have conquered it. An army without artillery or cavalry. The Turks signified nothing. Kleber was an irreparable loss to France and to me. He was a man of the brightest talents and the greatest bravery. I have composed the history of my own campaigns in Egypt and of yours, while I was at the Briars. But I want the Moniteurs for the dates."

The conversation then turned upon French naval officers. "Villeneuve," said he, "when taken prisoner and brought to England, was so much grieved at his defeat, that he studied anatomy that he might destroy himself. For this purpose he bought some anatomical plates of the heart, and compared them with his own body, in order to ascertain the exact situation of that organ. On his arrival in France, I ordered that he should remain at Rennes, and not proceed to Paris. Villeneuve, afraid of being tried by a court martial for disobedience of orders, and consequently losing the fleet, for I had ordered him not to sail, or to engage the English, determined to destroy himself, and accordingly took his plates of the heart, and compared them with his breast. Exactly in the centre of the plate, he made a mark with a large pin, then fixed the pin as near as he could judge in the same spot in his own breast, shoved it in to the head, penetrated his heart, and expired. When the room was opened, he was found dead; the pin in his breast, and a mark in the plate corresponding with the wound in his breast. He need not have done it," continued he, "as he was a brave man, though possessed of no talent."

"Barré," said he, "whom you took in the Rivoli, was a very brave and good officer. When I went to Egypt I gave directions, after I had disembarked and had taken Alexandria in a few hours, to sound for a passage for the fleet. A Venetian sixty-four (and a fifty-gun ship I think he said) got in, which I suppose you have seen there, but it was reported that the large ships of the line could not. I ordered Barré to sound. He reported to me that there was a sufficiency of water in one part of the channel. Brueys, on the contrary, said there was not enough of water for the eighty-gun ships. Barré insisted that there was. In the mean time I had advanced into the country after the Mamelukes. All communication with the army from the town by messengers, was cut off by the Bedouins, who took, or killed them all. My orders did not arrive, or I would have obliged Brueys to enter; for you must know that I had the command of the fleet as well as of the army. In the mean time, Nelson came and destroyed Brueys and his fleet. By what I have learned from you, I see that Barré was right, as you saw the Tigre and Canopus enter."

After this he made some observations upon the island. "Such," said he, "is the deplorable state of this rock, that the absence of actual want or starvation is considered as a great blessing. Piontkowski went down to Robinson's the other day, where they said to him, "Oh, how happy you *must* be to have *fresh meat* every day to dinner. Oh, if we could enjoy *that*, how happy should we be.' Is this a place," continued he, "fit for any person who has been accustomed to live amongst human beings?"

28*th*.—Napoleon asked me if I had not had a very large party to dinner yesterday. I replied, "a few." "How many of you were drunk?" I said, "none." "Bah, bah; what, none? Why they could not have done any honour to your entertainment. Was not Captain Ross a little gay?" I replied, "Captain Ross is always gay." He laughed at this, and said, "Ross is a very fine fellow *(un bravissimo uomo)*, and the ship's company are very happy in having such a captain. I saw," said he, "that poor clergyman, Jones.* They have used that poor man most cruelly in depriving him of his employment. For the sake of his family, if not for himself, they ought not to have superseded him. He is a good man, is he not?" I replied, that he was a man of good heart, but that he was accused of being too fond of meddling with what did not concern him.

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* Mr. Jones had been a tutor to Mr. Balcombe's children during Napoleon's residence at the Briars.

I told him that news had arrived that the Queen of Portugal was dead, and also, that a French frigate had arrived at Rio Janeiro to demand one of the king's daughters in marriage for the Duc de Berri. "The queen," said he, "has been mad fot a long time, and the daughters are all ugly."

29th.—A ship arrived from England; went to town; saw the governor, and on my return went to Napoleon, who was playing at nine pins with his generals in his garden. I told him (by desire of the governor) that a bill concerning him had been brought into parliament, to enable ministers to detain him in St. Helena, and to provide the necessary sums of money for his maintenance. He asked if it had met with opposition? I replied, "scarcely any." "Brougham or Burdett," said he, "did they make any?" I replied, "I have not seen the papers, but I believe that Mr. Brougham said something." Gave him some French newspapers, which the admiral had given me before he had read them himself. "Who gave you those papers?" "The admiral." "What, for me?" (with some surprise.) "He told me to give them to Bertrand, but in reality they were intended for you." After some conversation, he desired me to endeavour to procure the Morning Chronicle, the Globe, or any of the opposition or neutral papers.

June 7th.—Breakfasted with Napoleon in the garden. Had a long medical argument with him, in which he maintained, that *his* practice in case of malady, viz. to eat nothing, drink plenty of barley-water and no wine, and ride for seven or eight leagues to promote perspiration, was much better than mine.

Some conversation took place about the mode of solemnizing marriage, in which I said, that in England, when a protestant and catholic were married, it was necessary that the ceremony should be performed, first by a protestant clergyman, and afterwards by a Roman catholic priest. "That is wrong," said he, "marriage ought to be a civil contract; and on the parties going before a magistrate in the presence of witnesses, and entering into an engagement, they should be considered as man and wife. This is what I caused to be done in France. If they wished it, they might go to the church afterwards and get a priest to repeat the ceremony: but this ought not to be considered as indispensable. It was always my maxim that those religious ceremonies should never be above the laws, *(prendre l'essor)*. I also ordained, that marriages contracted by French subjects in foreign countries when performed according to the laws of those countries, should be valid on the return of the parties to France."

15th.—Napoleon at breakfast in his bath, a little sliding table was put over the bath, upon which the dishes were placed. I told him that Warden had found a book belonging to him, which was supposed to have been lost on board of the Northumberland. "Ah! Warden, *ce brave homme*, how is he? Why does he not come and see me—I shall be glad to see him? How is the *médecin en chef?*" I said that he would feel highly honoured by being presented to him, if he would consent to see him as a private person, and not as a physician. "As you say that he is *un galantuomo*, I shall see him; you may introduce him to me in the garden any day you like. Have you seen Miledi Lowe; I have been told that she is a graceful and a fine woman." I replied, that I had heard so, and also that she was very lively. "It is a pity," said he, "that she cannot bestow a portion of her wit and grace upon her husband: as, for a public character, I never saw a man so deficient in both." He asked me a number of questions about London, of which I had lent him a history, which had been made a present to me by Captain Ross. He appeared to be well acquainted with the contents of the book, though he had not had it in his possession many days; described the plates, and tried to repeat several of the cries,—said that if he had been king of England he would have made a grand street on each side of the Thames, and another from St. Paul's to the river. The conversation afterwards turned upon the manner of living in France and England. "Which eats the most," said he, "the Frenchman or the Englishman?" I said, "I think the Frenchman." "I don't believe it," said Napoleon. I replied, that the French, though they nominally make but two meals a day, really have four. "Only two," said he. I replied, "they take something at nine in the morning, at eleven, at four, and at seven or eight in the evening." "I," said he, "never eat more than twice daily. You English always eat four or five times a day. Your cookery is more healthy than ours. Your soup is, however, very bad: nothing but bread, pepper, and water. You drink an enormous quantity of wine." I said, "not so much as is supposed by the French." "Why," replied he, "Piontkowski, who dines sometimes in camp with the officers of the 53rd, says that they drink by the hour; that after the cloth is removed, they pay so much an hour and drink as much as they like, which sometimes lasts until four o'clock in the morning." I said, "So far from the truth is it, that some of the officers do not drink wine more than twice a week, and that on days in which strangers are permitted to be invited. There is a third of a bottle put on for each member who drinks wine, and when that is exhausted, another third is put on, and so on. Members only pay in proportion to what they drink." He appeared surprised with this explanation, and observed how easily a stranger, having only an imperfect knowledge of the language, was led to give a wrong interpretation to the customs and actions of other nations.

17*th.*—Told Napoleon that the Newcastle frigate was in sight, with the new admiral. He desired me to fetch my glass, and point her out to him. Found him on my return on his way to the stables. Pointed out the vessel beating up to windward. Shortly afterwards, Warden came up, and Napoleon invited me to breakfast with him, and to bring Warden and Lieutenant Blood with me. At breakfast, some conversation took place about the Abbé de Pradt, &c.; and about some of the absurd falsehoods detailed in the Quarterly Review, respecting his conduct while at the Briars, were repeated to him.—"*Cela amusera le public,*" replied Napoleon. Warden observed that all Europe was very anxious to know his opinion of Lord Wellington as a general. To this he made no reply, and the question was not repeated.

Three commissioners arrived in the Newcastle:

Count Balmaine for Russia; Baron Sturmer for Austria, accompanied by the Baroness, his wife; Marquis Montchenu for France; with Captain Gor, his aid-de-camp. An Austrian botanist also accompanied Baron Sturmer.

18*th.*—Told Napoleon that I had been to town, and that the commissioners for Russia, France, and Austria had arrived. "Have you seen any of them?" "Yes, I saw the French commissioner." "What sort of a man is he?" "He is an old emigrant, named the Marquis of Montchenu, extremely fond of talking; but his looks are not against him. While I was standing in a group of officers on the terrace opposite the admiral's house, he came out, and addressing himself to me, said in French, 'if you or any of you speak French, for the love of God make it known to me, for I do not speak a word of English. I have arrived here to finish my days amongst those rocks (pointing to Ladder Hill), and I cannot speak a word of the language.'" Napoleon laughed very heartily at this, and repeated, *bavard, imbecille,* several times. "What folly it is," said he, "to send those commissioners out here. Without charge or responsibility, they will have nothing to do but to walk about the streets and creep up the rocks. The Prussian government has displayed more judgment and saved its money." I told him that Drouot had been acquitted, which pleased him much. Of Drouot's talents and virtues he spoke in the highest terms, and observed, that by the laws of France he could not be punished for his conduct.

20th.—Rear-admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, Captain Meynel (the flag-captain), and some other naval officers, were presented to Napoleon.

21st.—Saw Napoleon walking in the garden, and went down towards him with a book that I had procured for him. After he had made some inquiries about the health of Mrs. Pierie, a respectable old lady whom I visited, he said that he had seen the new admiral. "Ah, there is a man with a countenance really pleasing, open, intelligent, frank, and sincere. There is the face of an Englishman. His countenance bespeaks his heart, and I am sure he is a good man: I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine soldier-like old man. He carries his head erect, and speaks out openly and boldly what he thinks, without being afraid to look you in the face at the time. His physiognomy would make every person desirous of a further acquaintance, and render the most suspicious confident in him."

Some conversation now passed relative to the protest which had been made by Lord Holland against the bill for his detention.* Napoleon expressed that opinion of Lord Holland, to which his talents and virtues so fully entitle him. He was highly pleased to find that the Duke of Sussex had joined his lordship in the protest, and observed, that when passions were calmed, the conduct of those two peers would be handed down to posterity with as much honour, as that of the proposers of the measure would be loaded with ignominy. He asked several questions concerning the reduction of the English army, and observed, that it was absurd in the English government to endeavour to establish the nation as a great military power, without having a population sufficiently numerous to afford the requisite number of soldiers to enable them to vie with the great, or even the second-rate continental powers, while they neglected and seemed to undervalue the navy, which was the real force and bulwark of England. "They will yet," said he, "discover their error."

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* PROTEST

To the second Reading of Bonaparte's Detention Bill.

Because, without reference to the character or previous conduct of the person who is the object of the present bill, I disapprove of the measure which it sanctions and continues.

To consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief, who, after the abdication of his authority, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us in preference to his other enemies, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great country; and the treaties by which, after his captivity, we have bound ourselves to detain him in custody, at the will of sovereigns, to whom he had never surrendered himself, appear to me repugnant to the principles of equity, and utterly uncalled for by expedience or necessity.

(*Signed*) VASSALL HOLLAND.

And, on the third reading, His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex entered his protest for the same reasons.

23*rd.*—Several cases of books which had been ordered by Bertrand at Madeira, and were brought out in the Newcastle by Sir Pulteney Malcolm, were sent up to him the day before. Found him in his bed-chamber, surrounded with heaps of books: his countenance was smiling, and he was in perfect good humour. He had been occupied in reading nearly all the night. "Ah," said he, pointing to some books that he had thrown on the floor, according to his custom, after having read them, "what a pleasure I have enjoyed. What a difference. I can read forty pages of French in the time that it would require me to comprehend two of English." I found afterwards that his anxiety to see them was so great, that he had laboured hard himself, with a hammer and chisel, in opening the cases which contained them.

24*th.*—Saw Napoleon in the garden. Told him that Sir Thomas Reade had sent up seven cases of books to me for him, and that the governor had sent me two guns on the percussion principle for his use, and had desired me to explain the manner in which they were constructed. "It is useless," replied he, " to send me guns, when I am confined to a place where there is no game." I told him that Mr. Baxter had come up to have the honour of being introduced to him. He desired me to call him. On being presented, he said, smiling, " Well, *signor medico*, how many patients have you killed in your time?" Afterwards he conversed with him for nearly an hour on various subjects.

Sir Hudson Lowe told me that " he was so far from wishing to prevent any letters or complaints being sent to Europe, that he had offered to Bonaparte to forward any letters or statements he wished to England, and not only would he do so, but he would have them printed in the newspapers, in French and English."

28*th*.—A proclamation issued by Sir Hudson Lowe, declaring that any person holding any correspondence or communication with Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers or attendants, receiving from or delivering to him or them letters or communications, without express authorization from the governor, under his hand, was guilty of an infraction of the acts of parliament for his safe custody, and would be prosecuted with all the rigour of the law. Also, that any person or persons who received any letters or communications from him, his followers, or attendants, and did not immediately deliver or make known the same to the governor, or, who should furnish the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants, with money, or any other means whatever, whereby his escape might be furthered, would be considered to be aiding and assisting in the same, and would be proceeded against accordingly.

July 1st.—A letter sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, prohibiting all sort of communications, either written or verbal, with the inhabitants, except such as shall have been previously made known to him (the governor) through the orderly officer.

Since the arrival of the books, the emperor has been daily occupied for several hours in reading and collecting dates and other materials for the history of his life, which is written up to his landing in France from Egypt. The state of the weather also, the almost constant rain or fog, with the strong wind continually blowing over the bleak and exposed situation of Longwood, has contributed much to keep him within doors, and disgust him with his present residence. He expressed a wish to be removed to the leeward side of the island, which is warmer, and protected from the eternal sharp south-east wind.

4th.—Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm had an interview of nearly two hours with Napoleon, who was much pleased with both. During the conversation he entered deeply into a description of the battle of Waterloo, naval tactics, &c. The officers of the Newcastle were also presented to him. The meat, which has generally been of a bad quality, is to-day so detestable, that Captain Poppleton felt himself obliged to send it back, and write a complaint to the governor.

6th.—Madame Bertrand informed Captain Poppleton and myself, that she had written a letter to Montchenu, in which she requested of him to call and see her at Hut's Gate, as she had heard that he had seen her mother, who was in an indifferent state of health, and was very desirous to inquire about her. That Las Cases would also come and meet him on his arrival at her house, as he was informed that Montchenu had seen his wife a short time before his departure from Paris.

8th.—The servants from Longwood, bringing the provisions to Bertrand's, stopped by the sentinels, and not allowed to enter the court. The viands were, at last, handed over the wall, in presence of a sentinel, who said, he could not permit any conversation to take place. A similar scene took place, when my servant brought some medicines for Bertrand's servant, Bernard, who was dangerously ill. Round one of the bottles there was a label in my hand-writing, containing directions how to take the medicine. This was written in French, and the sentinel not being able to understand it, thought it his duty not to suffer it to enter, and it was accordingly torn off. A sentinel was relieved the day before, and sent to camp to be tried by a court-martial, for having allowed a black to go into Bertrand's court to get a drink of water, which probably has given rise to this increased rigour on the part of the soldiers.

9th.—A letter of expostulation sent this morning to Sir Hudson Lowe. Some conversation at Longwood relative to a machine for making ice, said by some of the officers of the Newcastle to have been sent by Lady Holland for Napoléon's use, but which has not yet made its appearance.

10th.—A great deficiency has existed for several days in the quantity of wine, fowls, and other necessary articles. Wrote to Sir Thomas Reade about it. Captain Poppleton also went to town himself to lay the matter before Sir Hudson Lowe.

11th.—While at Hut's Gate, a serjeant came in with a message from Sir Hudson Lowe, desiring me to follow him. His excellency inquired of me in what part of the island General Bonaparte would wish to have his new house built? I replied, "He would like the Briars." Sir Hudson said, that would never do, that it was too near the town, and in fact out of the question. He then asked me if I thought he would prefer any part of the island to Longwood? I said, "most certainly he would prefer a habitation on the other side of the island." His excellency then desired me to find out from himself what part of the island he would prefer. He also said, that Napoleon had refused to see the commissioners, and desired me to ascertain whether he was still of that opinion. His excellency asked me whether I knew what they wanted with the Marquis Montchenu. I replied, that Madame Bertrand wished to inquire after her mother's health, and that Las Cases was to have met him at Hut's Gate; and that I was informed he was very anxious to inquire about his wife, as he had been told that Montchenu had seen her shortly before his departure from Paris. Sir Hudson observed that he would report Las Cases to the British government, for having contemptuously refused to receive or accept some articles sent for the supply of the generals and others with Bonaparte, while at the same time he wrote a letter to Lady Clavering, desiring that some articles of a similar nature to those so offered might be purchased and sent out to him. He then again assured me of his readiness, not only to transmit their complaints to his majesty's government, but that he would also cause them to be published; and told me that he much wished me to let him know General Bonaparte's wants and wishes, in order that he might communicate them to his government, which would thus know how to anticipate and provide for any demands. Desired me also to tell Madame Bertrand that he was very sorry any restrictions which he had imposed were disagreeable to her or hurtful to her feelings, though it appeared to him that she had been made a tool of, which he advised her not to try again. After this, he went to Longwood, where he had a long conversation with General Montholon, chiefly about altering, enlarging, and improving Longwood House.

12*th.*—Napoleon rather melancholy. I informed him that the governor had been at Longwood yesterday, in order to see if he could afford greater comfort and accommodation to him, either by building some additional rooms to the house already existing at Longwood, or erecting a new house in some other part of the island; and that the governor had charged me to inquire from him which he would prefer. He replied, "*A questa casa, o in questo luogo tristo non voglio niente di lui.* I hate this Longwood. The sight of it makes me melancholy. Let him put me in some place where there is shade, verdure, and water. Here it either blows a furious wind, loaded with rain and fog, *che mi taglia l'anima*; or, if that is wanting, *il sole mi brucia il cervello,* through the want of shade, when I go out. Let him put me on the Plantation House side of the island, if he really wishes to do any thing for me. But, what is the use of his coming up here proposing things, and doing nothing. There is Bertrand's house not the least advanced since his arrival. The admiral at least sent his carpenter here, who made the work go on." I replied, that the governor had desired me to say, that he did not like to undertake any thing without first knowing that it would meet with his approval; but, that if he (Napoleon) would fix, or propose a plan for the house, he would order every workman on the island, with a proportionate number of engineer officers, &c. to proceed to Longwood, and set about it. That the governor feared, that making additions to the present building would annoy him by the noise of the workmen. He replied, "Certainly it would. I do not wish him to do any thing to this house, or on this dismal place. Let him build a house on the other side of the island, where there is shade, verdure, and water, and where I may be sheltered from this *vento agro.* If it is determined to build a new house for my use, I would wish to have it erected on the estate of Colonel Smith, which Bertrand has been to look at, or at Rosemary Hall. But his proposals are all a delusion. Nothing advances since he came. Look there," pointing to the window. "I was obliged to order a pair of sheets to be put up as curtains, as the others were so dirty I could not approach them, and none could be obtained to replace them. '*E un trist' uomo, è peggio dell'* *isola*. Remark his conduct to *quella povera dama*, Madame Bertrand. He has deprived her of the little liberty she had, and has prevented people from coming to visit and *bavarder* for an hour with her, which was some little solace to a lady who had always been accustomed to see company." I observed, that the governor had said, it was in consequence of Madame Bertrand's having sent a note to the Marquis Montchenu, without having first caused it to pass through the governor's hands. "Trash," replied he; "By the regulations in existence when he arrived, it was permitted to send notes to residents, and no communication of an alteration having taken place was made to them. Besides, could not she and her husband have gone to town to see Montchenu? Weak men are always timorous and suspicious. This man is fit to be, *un capo di sbirri*, but not a governor."

13*th*.—Went to town, and communicated Napoleon's reply to Sir Hudson Lowe, who did not seem to like it; and said that he could not so easily be watched. I observed that I thought, easier, as he would then be in the midst of his (Sir Hudson's) staff; and moreover, as the spots in question were nearly surrounded with high and unequal rocks, it would be extremely easy to place picquets in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of escape, and at the same time, be unseen by the captive. His excellency at first assented to this; but a moment afterwards observed, that he should not know where to place the Austrian commissioner, who had taken Rosemary Hall. I ventured to suggest to him, that, however desirable an object the accommodation of the Baron Sturmer might be, still it was one of much minor importance to that of the principal *détenu.* Sir Hudson Lowe, after a moment's silence, asked me if I had communicated his message to Madame Bertrand, to which I replied in the affirmative. He observed, that he had not sufficiently explained his motives in imposing some additional restrictions, as the fact was, that Sir George Cockburn, prior to his departure, had pointed out to him the great inconveniency of the existing order of things, and the necessity there was of preventing such free access to Bertrand's house. That he had strongly recommended the adoption of the restrictions which he (Sir Hudson) had since thought it his duty to impose, which the admiral declared it was his own intention to have ordered, had he not been in daily expectation of the new governor's arrival. That the liberal access to Bertrand had been originally permitted in consequence of a supposition, that the new house for his use at Longwood would soon be finished; after which he would be placed on a similar footing with the other attendants of General Bonaparte. This he desired me to communicate to the countess; and said that he would consider about building the new house upon the spot which I had pointed out; adding, that "Colonel Smith's and Rosemary Hall must go together."

15*th*.—Napoleon out very early in the carriage.

16*th*.—Napoleon, who had gone down to the stables at an early hour, and ordered the horses to be put to, himself, overtook me in the park, and made me get into the carriage. Complained of his teeth. Breakfasted with him. During the meal, the subject of the commissioners was introduced. He asked, if Madame Sturmer had ever seen him at Paris. I replied, that she had, and was very desirous to see him again. "And who prevents her?" said he. I replied, that herself and her husband, as well as the rest of the commissioners, believe that you will not receive them. "Who told them so?" said he, "I am willing to receive them, whenever they please to ask through Bertrand. I shall receive them as private characters. I never refuse to see any person, when asked in a proper way, and especially, I should be always glad to see a lady."

"It appears," said he, "that your ministers have sent out a great many articles of dress for us, and other things, which it was supposed might be wanted. Now, if this governor was possessed of the feelings of a gentleman, he would have sent a list of them to Bertrand, stating that the English government had sent a supply of certain articles which it was thought we might want, and that if we stood in need of them, we might order such as we pleased. But, instead of acting in a manner pointed out by the rules of politeness, this *geolier* converts into an insult, what, probably, your government intended as a civility, by selecting what things he himself pleases, and sending them up in a contemptuous manner, without consulting us; as if he were sending alms to a set of beggars, or clothing to convicts. *Veramente ha il cuore di boja,* for nobody but a *boja* would unnecessarily increase the miseries of people, situated like us, already too unhappy. His hands soil every thing that passes through them. See how he torments that poor lady, Madame Bertrand, by depriving her of the little society she was accustomed to, and which is necessary to her existence. It is not punishing her husband, who, if he has a book, is contented. I am astonished that he allows you or Poppleton to remain near me. He would willingly watch me himself always, were it in his power. Have you any galley-slaves in England?" I replied, No; but that we had some convicts who were condemned to work at Portsmouth and elsewhere. "Then," said he, "he ought to have been made keeper of them. It would be exactly the office suited to him."

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and had an interview with him for a short time.

17*th.*—Napoleon called me into the garden to him. Informed me that he had told the governor that he had unnecessarily increased their restrictions; that he had, without any reason, punished Madame Bertrand; that he had insulted them by his manner of sending up the articles sent for their use; that he had insulted Las Cases, by telling him that he had read his letters, and by informing him, that if he wanted a pair of shoes or stockings, he must first send to him. "I told him," added he, "that if Bertrand or Las Cases wanted to form a plot with the commissioners, (which he appeared to be afraid of,) that he had nothing more to do, than to go to the town and make an appointment with any of them to come up inside of the alarm-house, and meet him. I told him that it was a disgrace to him who was vested with authority, to insult a man like Bertrand, who was esteemed by all Europe."

He then spoke about the new house, said, that if he expected to remain long in St. Helena, he should wish to have it erected at the Plantation House side; "but," continued he, "I am of opinion that as soon as the affairs of France are settled, and things quiet, the English government will allow me to return to Europe, and finish my days in England. I do not believe that they are foolish enough to be at the expense of eight millions annually, to keep me here, when I am no longer to be feared; I therefore am not very anxious about the house." He then spoke about escape, and said, that even if he were inclined to try it, there were ninety-eight chances out of a hundred against his succeeding; "notwithstanding which," continued he, "this gaoler imposes as many restrictions, as if I had nothing more to do than to step into a boat and be off. It is true, that while one lives, there is always a chance, although chained, enclosed in a cell, and every human precaution taken, there is still a chance of escape, and the only effectual way to prevent it is to put me to death. *Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.* Then all uneasiness on the part of the European powers, and Lord Castlereagh, will cease: no more expense, no more squadrons to watch me, or poor soldiers fatigued to death with picquets and guards, or harassed carrying loads up those rocks."

18*th.*—Sir Hudson came to Longwood, and arranged some matters with General Montholon relative to the house. Every thing connected with the alterations in the building put under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Wynyard, assisted by Lieutenant Jackson of the staff corps. A billiard-table brought up to Longwood.

19*th.*—The drawing-room of Longwood House discovered to be on fire at about five o'clock in the morning. It was extinguished in about half an hour, by great exertions on the part of Captain

Poppleton, and the guard, aided by the household. It had reached within a few inches of the upper flooring, which was formed of a double boarding. Had this caught fire, it would have been nearly impossible to have saved the building, as there is no water at Longwood.

20th.—Some curtains for the emperor's bed sent up to me by Sir Thomas Reade.

22nd.—Dined in camp, on occasion of the anniversary of the battle of Salamanca. Present, his excellency and staff, heads of departments, &c.

24th.—The admiral sent up a lieutenant and party of seamen to pitch a tent, formed of a lower studding-sail, as no shade was afforded by the trees at Longwood. Colonel Maunsell, of the 53d, asked me to exert myself in order to procure, through Count Bertrand, for Dr. Ward (who had been eighteen years in India) an interview with Napoleon. Count Bertrand accordingly made the application to the emperor, who replied, that "Dr. Ward must apply in person to Count Bertrand."

25th.—Told Napoleon that the Griffon had arrived from England the night before, and had brought the news of the condemnation of General Bertrand to death, though absent. He appeared for a moment lost in astonishment, and much concerned; but recollecting himself, observed, that by the laws of France, a man accused of a capital offence might be tried, and condemned to death, *par contumace*, but that they could not act upon such a sentence; that the individual must be tried again, and be actually present; that if Bertrand were now in France, he would be acquitted, as Drouot had been. He expressed, however, much sorrow at it, on account of the effect which it might probably produce upon Madame Bertrand. "In revolutions," continued he, "every thing is forgotten. The benefits you confer to day, are forgotten to-morrow. The side once changed, gratitude, friendship, parentage, every tie vanishes, and all sought for is self-interest."

26th.—Saw Napoleon at his toilette. While dressing, he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of the latter holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, *eau de Cologne*, &c. When he has gone over one side of his face with the razor, he asks St. Denis or Novarre, "Is it done?" and after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of them by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good-humoured manner, crying, "Ah, *coquin*, why did you tell me it was done?" This, probably, has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some *eau de Cologne* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh-brush, changes his linen and flannel waistcoat, and dresses in white kerseymere, (or brown nankeen) breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat with white buttons, black stock, with none of the white-shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small-cocked hat, with a little tri-coloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little *bonbonnière*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief scented with *eau de Cologne*, are handed to him by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber.

Napoleon complained of a slight pain in his right side. I advised him to get it well rubbed with *eau de Cologne* and flannel, and also suggested a dose of physic. At this last he laughed, and gave me a friendly slap on the cheek. He asked the causes of the liver complaint, now very prevalent in the island. I enumerated several, and amongst others, drunkenness and hot climates.

"If," said he, "drunkenness be a cause, I ought never to have it."

27*th.*—Colonel Keating, late governor of the isle of Bourbon, had an interview with Napoleon, which lasted for nearly an hour.

28*th.*—Informed by Cipriani, that in the beginning of 1815, he had been sent from Elba to Leghorn, to purchase 100,000 francs worth of furniture for Napoleon's palace. During his stay, he became very intimate with a person named ***, who had a * * * at Vienna, from whom a private intimation was sent to him, that it was the determination of the congress of Vienna to send the emperor to St. Helena, and even had sent him a paper containing the substance of the agreement, a copy of which he gave to Cipriani, who departed instantly for Elba, to communicate the information he had received to the emperor. This, with the confirmation which he afterwards received from M * * * A** and M*** at Vienna, contributed to determine Napoleon to attempt the recovery of his throne.

Accompanied Napoleon in his evening-drive. Informed him that Sir Thomas Reade had begged me to acquaint him that the Russian commissioner had taken no part in the official note addressed to the governor, and containing a request to see him (Napoleon). He observed, that if they wished to see him, they had taken very bad measures, as all the powers of Europe should not induce him to receive them as official characters. They might break open the door, or level the house down and find him. He then observed, that a book* relative to his last reign in France had been lately sent out by the author, (an Englishman,) to Sir Hudson Lowe, with a request that it should be delivered to him. On the back was inscribed, in letters of gold,—to the Emperor Napoleon, or, to the Great Napoleon. "Now," continued he, "this *galeriano* would not allow the book to be sent to me, because it had the 'Emperor Napoleon' written upon it; because he thought that it would give me some pleasure to see that all men were not like him, and that I was esteemed by some of his nation. *Non credevo che un uomo poteva essere basso e vile a tal segno.*"

Since the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, there has been a great alteration in the number of newspapers sent to Longwood. Instead of receiving, as heretofore, a regular series of some papers, as well as many detached ones, only a few irregular numbers of the Times have arrived, and occasionally a Courier. This has caused great anxiety at Longwood to those who have relations in France, and given much displeasure to Napoleon, to whom

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* "The last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon," by Mr. Hobhouse.

Sir George Cockburn frequently sent up papers, before perusing them himself.

August 2d.—Made a complaint to the purveyors that no vegetables, except potatoes, had been sent up for three days; and requested, that if they were not permitted to furnish any more, my letter might be transmitted to Major Gorrequer.

3rd.—Received an answer from Mr. Fowler, clerk to the purveyors, informing me that they had been ordered to send no more vegetables, which, they had been informed by Major G., were in future to be furnished from the honorable company's garden.

Colonel Maunsell presented this day by Sir George Bingham. Napoleon conversed for a short time with the latter.

5th.—Sir Hudson Lowe came to Longwood, and calling me aside in a mysterious manner, asked if I thought that "General Bonaparte" would take it well if he invited him to come to a ball at Plantation House, on the Prince Regent's birth-day? I replied, that under all circumstances, I thought it most probable that he would look upon it as an insult, especially if made to "*General Bonaparte.*" His excellency remarked, that he would avoid that, by asking him in person. I said, that I would recommend him to consult Count Bertrand on the subject, which he said he would do. He then referred to a prior conversation, and informed me that he was of opinion my salary ought to be augmented to 500*l.* per annum, and that he would certainly write to Lord Bathurst and recommend it. After this, he spoke about Mr. Hobhouse's book, observed, that he could not send it to Longwood, as it had not been forwarded through the channel of the secretary of state; moreover, that Lord Castlereagh was extremely ill spoken of, and that he had no idea of allowing General Bonaparte to read a book in which a British minister was treated in such a manner, or even to know that a work containing such reflections could be published in England. I ventured to observe to his excellency, that Napoleon was very desirous to see the book, and that he could not confer a much greater favour than to send it up. Sir Hudson replied, that Mr. Hobhouse, in the letter which accompanied it, had permitted him to place it in his own library, if he did not think himself authorized to send it to its original destination.

6th.—Napoleon again entered on the subject of the book, the detention of which by the governor he declared to be illegal; and that even if he were a prisoner under sentence of death, the governor's conduct would not be justifiable in detaining a printed and published book, in which there was no secret correspondence or treason, because there were some *bêtises* in it. By "*bêtises*" he meant the inscription addressed to him.

A lieutenant, two midshipmen, and a party of seamen employed in repairing the tent, which had suffered materially in the late bad weather. Napoleon went up, and conversed for a short time with the midshipmen, one of whom, by a strange coincidence, happened to be the son of Mr. Drake, notorious for his conduct at Munich.

10*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe came up, while Napoleon was at breakfast in the tent, in order to see him, but did not succeed.

12*th*.—Grand field-day at camp, in honour of the Prince Regent. Explained to him that in all our colonies his royal highness's birth-day was celebrated. "*Gia, gia*," said he, "*naturalmente*." Asked me if I were asked to dine with the governor? I replied, no; but that I was asked to the ball in the evening.

14*th*.—Napoleon went out to ride this morning for the first time for eight weeks. Informed me that he had so severe a headach, that he had determined to try the effect of a little exercise. "But," continued he, "the limits are so circumscribed that I cannot ride for more than an hour; and in order to do me any good, I should ride very hard for three or four. Here has been," continued he, "that *sbirro Siciliano*. I would have remained in the tent an hour longer, if I had not been informed of his arrival. *Mi ripugna l'anima il vederlo*. He is perpetually unquiet, and appears always in a passion with somebody, or uneasy, as if something tormented his conscience, and that he was anxious to run away from himself."

"A man, to be well fitted for the situation of governor of St. Helena," he observed, "ought to be a person of great politeness, and at the same time of great firmness—one who could gloss over a refusal, and lessen the miseries of the *détenus*, instead of eternally putting them in mind that they were considered as prisoners. Instead of such a man, they had sent out *un uomo non conosciuto, che non a mai comandato, che non ha nessun ordine, nè sistema, che non sa farsi ubbidire, che non ha nè maniera, nè creanza—e che pare che abbia sempre vissuto con dei ladri.*"

15*th.*—Anniversary of Napoleon's birth-day. Breakfasted in the tent with the ladies and all his suite, including Piontkowski and the children. There was, however, no change of uniform or additional decorations. In the evening, the second class of domestics, including the English, had a grand supper, and a dance afterwards. To the astonishment of the French, not an Englishman got drunk.

16*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe came up, and had a long conversation with Gen. Montholon and myself, principally about the necessity of reducing the expenses of the establishment, which, he observed, was not conducted with a due regard to economy. Amongst other examples of what he considered wasteful expenditure, he stated to General Montholon, that he had observed, on looking over the accounts of Plantation House and Longwood, that there was a much greater quantity of basket-salt consumed at the latter than at the former; he desired, therefore, that in future, common salt *(sel gris)* should be used as much as possible in the kitchen and at the table of the servants.

One of Leslie's pneumatic machines for making ice sent up to Longwood this day. As soon as it was put up, I went and informed Napoleon, and told him that the admiral was at Longwood. He asked several questions about the process, and it was evident that he was perfectly acquainted with the principles upon which air-pumps are formed. He expressed great admiration of the science of chemistry, spoke of the great improvements which had of late years been made in it, and observed, that he had always promoted and encouraged it to the best of his power. I then left him, and proceeded to the room where the machine was, in order to commence the experiment in the presence of the admiral. In a few minutes Napoleon, accompanied by Count Montholon, came in and accosted the admiral in a very pleasant manner, seemingly gratified to see him. A cup full of water was then frozen in his presence in about fifteen minutes, and he waited for upwards of half an hour to see if the same quantity of lemonade would freeze, which did not succeed. Milk was then tried, but it would not answer. Napoleon took into his hand the piece of ice produced from the water, and observed to me, what a gratification that would have been in Egypt. The first ice ever seen in St. Helena was made by this machine, and was viewed with no small degree of surprise by the *yam stocks*,* some of whom could with difficulty be persuaded that the solid lump in their hands was really composed of water, and were not fully convinced until they had witnessed its liquefaction.

17*th*.—Went to Hut's Gate to visit Bertrand's servant Bernard, who was very ill. The serjeant of the guard ordered the sentry to be confined for letting me in. Went out to inquire, and was informed by the serjeant that he had orders to prevent every one from going in, except the general staff. Sir Hudson Lowe had, it appeared, given some directions yesterday himself, on going out of Bertrand's, to whom he shewed a letter from Lord Bathurst, stating that the expenses of the establishment must be reduced to 8,000*l*. per annum for every thing. The men who brought the provisions were not allowed to enter, but were obliged to hand them over the wall. The servants from Longwood were also refused admittance.

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* A cant name for the natives of the island.

Mr. Brookes, the colonial secretary, was also denied entrance. A letter sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Montholon, making a demand of 12,000*l.* a year for the maintenance of Napoleon and suite.*

18*th.*—The governor and admiral, accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, arrived at Longwood, while Napoleon was walking in the garden with Counts Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and son. His excellency sent to ask an interview, which was granted. It took place in the garden. The three principal personages, Napoleon, Sir Hudson, and Sir Pulteney, were a little in front of the others. Captain Poppleton and myself stood at some distance from them, but sufficiently near to observe their gestures. We remarked, that the conversation was principally on the part of Napoleon, who appeared at times considerably animated, frequently stopping and again hurried in his walk, and accompanying his words with a good deal of action. Sir Hudson's manner also appeared hurried and greatly agitated. The admiral was the only one who seemed to discourse with calmness. In about half an hour we saw Sir Hudson Lowe abruptly turn about, and withdraw, without saluting Napoleon. The admiral took off his hat, made his bow, and departed. Sir Hudson Lowe came up to where Poppleton and myself were standing, paced up and down in an agitated manner, while his horses were coming, and said to me, "General Bonaparte has been very abusive to me. I parted with him rather abruptly, and told him, *Vous êtes malhonnête, Monsieur*." He then mounted his horse and galloped away. The admiral appeared troubled and pensive. It was evident that the interview have been very unpleasant.

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* See Appendix, No. IV.

19*th*.—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room. He was in very good humour—asked how Gourgaud was, and on being informed that I had given him some medicine, he laughed and said, "He would have done better to have *dieted* himself for some days: let him drink plenty of water, and eat nothing. Medicines," he said, "were only fit for old people."

He then said, "that governor came here yesterday to annoy me. He saw me walking in the garden, and in consequence I could not refuse to see him. He wanted to enter into some details with me about reducing the expenses of the establishment. He had the audacity to tell me that things were as he found them, and that he came up to justify himself: that he had come up two or three times before to do so, but that I was in a bath. I replied, 'No, Sir, I was not in a bath, but I ordered one on purpose not to see you. In endeavouring to justify yourself you make matters worse.' He said that I did not know him; that if

I knew him, I should change my opinion. 'Know you, Sir,' I answered, 'How could I know you? People make themselves known by their actions; by commanding in battles. You have never commanded in battle. You have never commanded any but vagabond Corsican deserters, Piedmontese and Neapolitan brigands. I know the name of every English general who has distinguished himself, but I never heard of you except as a *scrivano*[*] to Blucher, or as a commandant of brigands. You have never commanded, or been accustomed to men of honour.' He said, that he had not sought for the employment. I told him that such employments were not asked for; that they were given by governments to people who had dishonoured themselves. He said that he only did his duty, and that I ought not to blame him, as he only acted according to his orders. I replied, 'So does the hangman. He acts according to his orders. But when he puts a rope round my neck to finish me, is that a reason that I should like that hangman, because he acts according to his orders? Besides, I do not believe that any government could be so mean as to give such orders as you cause to be executed.' I told him, that if he pleased, he need not send up any thing to eat. That I would go over and dine at the table of the brave officers of the 53d; that I was sure there was not one of them who would not be happy to give a plate at the table to an old soldier. That there was not a soldier in the regiment who had not more heart than he had. That in the iniquitous bill of parliament, they had decreed that I was to be treated as a prisoner, but that he treated me worse than a condemned criminal, or a galley-slave, as they were permitted to receive newspapers and printed books, which he deprived me of. I said, 'You have power over my body, but none over my soul. That soul is as proud, fierce, and determined at the present moment, as when it commanded Europe.' I told him that he was a *sbirro Siciliano*, and not an Englishman; and desired him not to let me see him again until he came with orders to despatch me, when he would find all the doors thrown open to admit him.

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[*] Clerk.

"It is not my custom," continued he, "to abuse any person, but that man's effrontery produced bad blood in me, and I could not help expressing my sentiments. When he had the impudence to tell me before the admiral that he had changed nothing; that all was the same as when he had arrived, I replied, 'Call the captain of *ordonnance* here, and ask *him*. I will leave it to his decision.' This struck him dumb, he was mute.

"He told me, that he had found his situation so difficult that he had resigned. I replied, that a worse man than himself could not be sent out, though the employment was not one which a *galantuomo* would wish to accept. If you have an opportunity," added he, " or if any one asks you, you are at liberty to repeat what I have told you."

Gave him Sarrazin's " Account of the Campaign in Spain." " Sarrazin," said he, " was a traitor, and a man without honour, truth, or probity. When I returned from Elba to Paris, he wrote an offer of his services to me, in which he proposed, if I would forgive and employ him, to betray to me all the secrets and plans of the English. It was my intention to have had him tried as a traitor, as he deserved, instead of accepting his offer, but I was so much hurried that it escaped my memory."

21*st.*—A ship arrived from England. Went to town, where I saw Captain Stanfell, to whom I mentioned in the course of conversation, that a very unpleasant conversation had taken place between the governor and Napoleon, and that Sir Hudson Lowe had told the latter that he had given in his resignation. On my return, called at Hut's Gate, along with Captain Maunsell of the 53d, and Captain Poppleton. Madame Bertrand asked if there were any letters. Captain Maunsell said that he had seen some for them at the post office. On my arrival at Longwood, Napoleon asked me the same question, to which I replied, that Captain Maunsell had informed Madame Bertrand there were some at the post-office. It was not my intention to have mentioned them until I had ascertained whether they would be sent to Longwood, as I did not wish to embroil him further with the governor; but as I was assured that he would hear it from Hut's Gate, I could not conceal my knowledge of the fact.

22nd.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me to Plantation House. Found him walking in the path to the left of the house. He said that he had some communication to make to government, wished to know the state of General Bonaparte's health, and whether I had any thing to say. "I understand," continued he, "that Bonaparte told you I had said that I had given in my resignation as governor of this island, is it true?" I replied, "he told me that you had said so to him." Sir Hudson added, "I never said any such thing, nor ever had an idea of it. He has either invented it, or perhaps mistaken my expressions. I merely said, that if the government did not approve of my conduct, I would resign. I wish you therefore to explain to him that I never either said so, or had any intention of doing it." He then asked me if I had heard the subject of their conversation. I replied, "some part of it." He wished to know what it was. I replied, "that I supposed he remembered it, and that I did not wish to repeat what must be disagreeable to him." He observed that I had mentioned it elsewhere, and that he had a right to hear it from my own lips. Although I had permission to communicate it, I was not pleased to be obliged to repeat to a man's face opinions such as those which had been expressed of him; but under the circumstances of the case, I did not think proper to refuse; I therefore repeated some parts. Sir Hudson said, that though he had not commanded an army against him, yet that he had probably done him more mischief, by the advice and information which he had given, prior to and during the conferences at Chatillon, some of which had not been published, as the conferences were going on at the time—than if he had commanded against him. That what *he* had pointed out, had been acted upon afterwards, and was the cause of his downfal from the throne. "I should like," added he, "to let him know this, in order to give him some cause for his hatred. I shall probably publish an account of the matter."

Sir Hudson Lowe then walked about for a short time, biting his nails, and asked me if Madame Bertrand had repeated to strangers any of the conversation which had passed between General Bonaparte and himself? I replied, that I was not aware that Madame Bertrand was yet acquainted with it. " She had better not," said he, " lest it may render her and her husband's situation much more unpleasant than at present." He then repeated some of Napoleon's expressions in a very angry manner, and said, " did General Bonaparte tell you, sir, that I told him his language was impolite and indecent, and that I would not listen any longer to it?" I said, " no." " Then it shewed," observed the governor, " great littleness on the part of General Bonaparte not to tell you the whole. He had better reflect on his situation, for it is in my power to render him much more uncomfortable than he is. If he continues his abuse, I shall make him feel his situation. He is a prisoner of war, and I have a right to treat him according to his conduct. I'll build him up." He walked about for a few minutes repeating again some of the observations, which he characterised as ungentleman-like, &c. until he had worked himself into a passion, and said, " tell General Bonaparte that he had better take care what he does, as, if he continues his present conduct, I shall be obliged to take measures to increase the restrictions already in force." After observing that he had been the cause of the loss of the lives of millions of men, and might be again, if he got loose, he concluded by saying, " I consider Ali Pacha to be a much more *respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte.*"*

23*rd.*—Told Napoleon, in the course of conversation, that the governor had said that he had mistaken his expressions, as he had never said, or intended to say, that he had given in his resignation; that he had certainly expressed, that if the government did not approve of his conduct, he would resign, &c. "That is very extraordinary," said Napoleon, "as he told me himself that he had resigned, at least I understood him so. *Tanto peggio.*" I then observed, that in consequence of what had occurred at the last interview, it was probable that he would not seek another "*Tanto meglio,*" said the emperor, "as then I shall be freed from the embarrassment *del suo brutto viso,* &c."

26*th.*—Napoleon asked me "if I had seen the letter written by Count Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe, containing a list of their grievances." I replied that I had. "Do you think," said he, "that this governor will send it to England?" I assured him that there was not a doubt of it. That moreover, the governor told me, that he had offered to him not only to send their letters home, but even to get them published in the newspapers. "It is a falsehood," replied the emperor.

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* Mr. Baxter came up and joined us about the moment that this expression was used.

"He said, that he would send letters to Europe, and have them published, with this proviso however, that *he approved of their contents.* Besides, if even he wished to do so, his government would not permit it. Suppose, for example, that I sent him an address to the French nation?—I do not think," continued he, "that they will allow a letter, which covers them with so much disgrace, to be published. The people of England want to know why I call myself emperor, after having abdicated—I have explained it in that letter. It was my intention to have lived in England as a private person *incognito*, but as they have sent me here, and want to make it appear that I was never chief magistrate or emperor of France, I still retain the title; *** told me, that he heard Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh say, that one of the principal reasons why they sent me here was a dread of my caballing with the opposition. It is likely enough that they were afraid of my telling the truth of them, and of my explaining some things which they would not like, as they knew, that if I remained in England, they must permit people of rank to see me."

He afterwards complained of the unnecessary severity exercised in depriving him of a series of newspapers; and restricting him to some unconnected numbers of the Bourbon paper, "The Times."

Within a few days, some more picquets have been established, and several additional sentinels placed, some in sight of Napoleon, if he chose to walk after sun-set. Ditches of eight or ten feet deep, nearly completed round the garden.

27th.—Napoleon asked me if the French commissioner and Madame Sturmer had not had a quarrel? I replied, that Montchenu had said that Madame Sturmer did not know how to come into a drawing-room. He laughed at this, and said, "I will venture to say, that the old booby says so because she is not sprung from some of those imbeciles, the old noblesse. Because her father is a plebeian. These old emigrants hate, and are jealous of all who are not hereditary asses like themselves." I asked him if the king of Prussia was a man of talent, "Who," said he, "the king of Prussia?" He burst into a fit of laughter. "*He* a man of talent! The greatest blockhead on earth. *Un ignorantaccio che non ha nè talento, nè informazione.* A Don Quixote in appearance. I know him well. He cannot hold a conversation for five minutes. Not so his wife. She was a very clever, fine woman, but very unfortunate. *Era bella, graziosa, e piena d'intelligenza.*" He then conversed for a considerable time about the Bourbons. "They want," said he, "to introduce the old system of nobility into the army. Instead of allowing the sons of peasants and labourers to be eligible to be made generals, as they were in my time; they want to confine it entirely to the old nobility, to *emigrés* like that old blockhead Montchenu. When you have seen Montchenu, you have seen all the old nobility of France before the revolution. Such were all the race, and such they have returned, ignorant, vain, and arrogant as they left it. *Ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié.* They were the cause of the revolution, and of so much bloodshed; and now, after twenty-five years of exile and disgrace, they return loaded with the same vices and crimes for which they were expatriated, to produce another revolution. I know the French. Believe me, that after six or ten years, the whole race will be massacred and thrown into the Seine. They are a curse to the nation. It is of such as them that the Bourbons want to make generals. I made most of mine, *de la boue.* Wherever I found talent and courage, I rewarded it. My principle was, *la carrière ouverte aux talens,* without asking whether there were any quarters of nobility to shew. It is true, that I sometimes promoted a few of the old nobility, from a principle of policy and justice, but I never reposed great confidence in them. The mass of the people," continued he, "now see the revival of the feodal times: they see that soon it will be impossible for their progeny to rise in the army. Every true Frenchman reflects with anguish, that a family for so many years odious to France, *has been forced upon them over a bridge of foreign bayonets.* What I am going to recount, will give you some idea of the imbecility of the family. When the Count d'Artois came to Lyons, although he threw himself on his knees before the troops, in order to induce them to advance against me, he never put on the cordon of the legion of honour, although he knew that the sight of it would be most likely to excite the minds of the soldiers in his favour, as it was the order so many of them bore on their breasts, and required nothing but bravery to obtain it. But no, he decked himself out with the order of the Holy Ghost, to be eligible for which, you must prove one hundred and fifty years of nobility, an order formed purposely to exclude merit, and one which excited indignation in the breasts of the old soldiers. 'We will not,' said they, 'fight for orders like that, nor for *emigrés* like those,' he had ten or eleven of these *imbecilles* as aid-de-camps. Instead of shewing to the troops some of those generals who had so often led them to glory, he brought with him a set of *miserables*, who served no other purpose than to recal to the minds of the veterans their former sufferings under the noblesse and the priests.

"To give you an instance of the general feeling in France towards the Bourbons, I will relate to you an anecdote. On my return from Italy, while my carriage was ascending the steep hill of Tarare, I got out and walked up without any attendants, as was often my custom. My wife and my suite were at a little distance behind me. I saw an old woman, lame, and hobbling about with the help of a crutch, endeavouring to ascend the mountain. I had a great coat on, and was not recognised. I went up to her and said, Well, *ma bonne*, where are you going with a haste which so little belongs to your years? What is the matter? '*Ma foi*,' replied the old dame, 'they tell me the emperor is here, and I want to see him before I die.' Bah, bah, said I, what do you want to see him for? What have you gained by him? He is a tyrant as well as the others. You have only changed one tyrant for another, Louis for Napoleon. '*Mais, monsieur*, that may be; but, after all, he is the king of the *people*, and the Bourbons were the kings of the nobles. We have chosen *him*, and if we are to have a tyrant, let him be one chosen by ourselves.' There," said he, "you have the sentiments of the French nation expressed by an old woman."

I asked his opinion about Soult, and mentioned that I had heard some persons place him in the rank next to himself as a general. He replied, "he is an excellent minister at war, or major-general of an army: one who knows much better the arrangement of an army, than to command in chief."

Some officers of the 53d told Madame Bertrand that Sir Thomas Reade had said, that Bonaparte did not like the sight of them, or of any other red coat, as it put him in mind of Waterloo. Madame Bertrand assured them, that it was directly contrary to every thing that he had ever expressed in her hearing. The same was mentioned to me yesterday by Lieutenants Fitzgerald and Mackay.

28*th*.—Informed that the famous letter was shewn to several officers of the army and the navy, and probably some copies sent to England.

A letter given by Count Montholon this evening, to Captain Poppleton, for the governor, expressing a wish, that, if the governor did not think proper to put matters with respect to passes on the same footing as they were in Sir George Cockburn's time, which had been approved of by his government, he should no longer grant passes to any person.

30*th*.—Napoleon rose at three, a. m. Continued writing until six; when he retired to rest again. At five o'clock Count Bertrand came to Captain Poppleton, and told him that the emperor desired to see him. Poppleton, being in his morning walking-dress, wished to retire and change, but was desired to come *sans cérémonie*. He was accordingly ushered into the billiard-room, in his dishabille. Napoleon was standing with his hat under his arm. "Well, *M. le capitaine*," said he, "I believe you are the senior captain of the 53d?" "I am." "I have an esteem for the officers and men of the 53d. They are brave men, and do their duty. I have been informed, that it is said in camp, that I do not wish to see the officers. Will you be so good as to tell them, that whoever asserted this, told a falsehood. I never said or thought so, I shall be always happy to see them. I have been told, also, that they have been prohibited by the governor from visiting me." Captain Poppleton replied, that he believed the information which he had received was groundless, and that the officers of the 53d were acquainted with the good opinion which he had previously expressed of them, which was highly flattering to their feelings. That they had the greatest respect for him. Napoleon smiled, and replied, "*Je ne suis pas vieille femme.* I love a brave soldier who has undergone, *le baptême du feu*, whatever nation he may belong to."

31*st.*—Sir George Bingham and Major Fehrzen of the 53d, had a long conversation with Napoleon.

September 1*st.*—Sir Hudson Lowe came to Longwood. Two or three days ago, the "*letter*" had been shewn and read by Count Las Cases, to Captain Grey of the artillery, and some other officers. Sir Hudson was very desirous to know whether any of them had taken a copy of it. I informed him, that any person at Longwood who liked, might get one. His excellency appeared greatly alarmed at this, and observed, that it was an infraction of the act of parliament in any person, not belonging to Longwood, to receive it. He then asked, if I had communicated to General Bonaparte, what he had directed me to say on the 22nd instant. I replied that I had, that Napoleon had said, "That he might act as he pleased, that the only thing left undone now, was to put sentinels to the doors and windows to prevent him from going out; that as long as he had a book, he cared but little about it." The governor remarked, that he had sent his letter of complaints to the British government, and that it rested with the ministers how to act. That he had put them in full possession of every thing, which he desired me to tell him. He added, that it was true he could not be much worse than he was.

4th.—Told Napoleon that the governor had directed me to say that Count Montholon's letter had been sent to his majesty's government, and that it rested with the ministers how to act. That he had put them in full possession of every thing. "Perhaps," replied he, "it will be published in the English newspapers before his copy arrives."

5th.—Major Gorrequer came up to Longwood to arrange matters with General Montholon, relative to the proposed reduction of the expenditure, at which he begged me to be present. The purport of his communication was, that when the British government had fixed 8,000*l.* as the maximum of the whole of the expense attendant upon General Bonaparte's establishment, they had contemplated that a great reduction would take place in the number of persons composing it, by some of the general officers and others returning to Europe. But as that had not taken place, the governor had, on his own responsibility, directed that an additional sum of 4,000*l.* should be added, making in the whole 12,000*l.* for all and every expense; that General Montholon must therefore be informed, that on no account could the expenditure be allowed to exceed 1,000*l.* per month. Should General Bonaparte be averse to the reductions necessary to bring the disbursements within that sum, the surplus must be paid by himself, by bills drawn upon some banker in Europe, or by such of his friends as were willing to pay them. Count Montholon replied, that the emperor was ready to pay all the expenses of the establishment, if they would allow him the means of doing so; and that if they permitted a mercantile or banking-house in St. Helena, London, or Paris, chosen by the British government itself, to serve as intermediators, through whom they could send sealed letters and receive answers, he would engage to pay all the expenses. That on the one side, his honour should be pledged that the letters should relate solely to pecuniary matters; and on the other, that the correspondence should be held sacred. Major Gorrequer replied, that this could not be complied with; that no sealed letters would be suffered to leave Longwood.

Major Gorrequer shortly afterwards told Count Montholon, that the intended reductions would take place on the 15th of the present month, and begged of him to arrange matters with Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, about the disposition of the 1,000*l.* monthly, unless he chose to give drafts for the surplus. Count Montholon replied, that he would not meddle with it; that the governor might act as he pleased; that at the present moment there was not any superfluity of provisions supplied; that as soon as the reductions took place, he, for his part would give up all charge, and would not meddle further in the matter. That the conduct of the English ministry was infamous, in declaring to Europe that the emperor should not be suffered to want for any thing, and refusing the offers of the allied powers to defray a part of the expenses, and now reducing him and his suite nearly to rations. Major Gorrequer denied that the allied powers had ever made such an offer. Montholon replied, that he had read it in some of the papers. Major Gorrequer then observed, that a great reduction could be made in the wine, viz. that it could be reduced to ten bottles of claret daily, and one of madeira; that at Plantation House, the consumption was regulated on the average of one bottle to each person. Montholon replied, that the French drank much less than the English; and that he had already done at the emperor's table what he never had done in his own private house in France, viz. corked up the remnants of the bottles of wine, in order to produce them on the table the next day; that moreover, at night there was not a morsel of meat remaining in the pantry. Gorrequer observed, that 12,000*l.* a year was a very handsome allowance. "About as much as 4,000*l.* in England," replied Montholon. The business was then deferred until Saturday. Before leaving Longwood, Major Gorrequer himself allowed to me that the establishment could not be carried on for 12,000*l.* annually; but that he thought a reduction of about 2,000*l.* yearly might be made. I observed that it might, provided a store of every thing necessary was established at Longwood, together with a stock-yard, under the direction of a proper person.

7th.—Major Gorrequer came up, and had a long conversation with Count Montholon, in my presence. The latter told him that orders had been given to discharge seven servants, which, with the consequent saving of provisions, and a reduction of wine, would diminish the expenses of the establishment to about 15,194*l.* annually; but that sum was the *minimum of minimums*, and that no further reductions could possibly take place. Major Gorrequer observed, that it was nearly what he had calculated himself. However, he still persisted in declaring that on the 15th, not more than 1,000*l.* per month would be allowed. Count Montholon then, after renewing the offer made on the last conversation, said, that as the emperor was not permitted by the British government to have access to his property, he had no other means left than to dispose of his property, and that accordingly a portion of his plate would be sent to the town for sale, in order to obtain the sum required monthly, in addition to that allowed by Sir Hudson Lowe, to provide them with the necessaries of life. Major Gorrequer said, that he would acquaint the governor with it.

Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by General Meade, (who had arrived a day or two before) came up and rode round Longwood. He appeared to point out to the general the limits, and other matters connected with the prisoners.

At night Napoleon sent for me, and complained of severe headach. He was sitting in his bedroom, with only a wood fire burning, the flames of which, alternately blazing and sinking, gave at moments a most singular and melancholy expression to his countenance, as he sat opposite to it with his hands crossed upon his knees, probably reflecting upon his forlorn condition. After a moment's pause, "*Dottore,*" said he, "*potete dar qualcosa a far dormire un uomo che non può?* This is beyond your art. I have been trying in vain to procure a little rest. I cannot," continued he, "well comprehend the conduct of your ministers. They go to the expense of 60, or 70,000*l.* in sending out furniture, wood, and building materials for my use, and at the same time send orders to put me nearly on rations, and oblige me to discharge my servants, and make reductions incompatible with the decency and comfort of the house. Then we have aid-de-camps, making stipulations about a bottle of wine and two or three pounds of meat, with as much gravity and consequence as if they were treating about the distribution of kingdoms. I see contradictions that I cannot reconcile: on the one hand, enormous and useless expenditure; on the other, unparalleled meanness and littleness. Why do not they allow me to provide myself with every thing, instead of disgracing the character of the nation? They will not furnish my followers with what they have been accustomed to, nor will they allow me to provide for them, by sending sealed letters through a mercantile house even of their own selection. For no man in France would answer a letter of mine, when he knew that it would be read by the English ministers, and that he would consequently be denounced to the Bourbons, and his property and person exposed to certain destruction. Moreover, your own ministers have not given a specimen of good faith in seizing upon the trifling sum of money that I had in the Bellerophon; which gives reason to suppose that they would do the same again, if they knew where any of my property was placed. It must be," continued he, "to gull the English nation. John Bull, seeing all this furniture sent out, and so much parade and shew in the preparations made in England, concludes that I am well treated here. If they knew the truth, and the dishonour which it reflects upon them, they would not suffer it." He then asked who was "that strange general officer?" I replied, General Meade, who, with Mrs. Meade, had arrived a few days back. That I had been under his command in Egypt, where he had been severely wounded. "What, with Abercrombie?" "No," I replied, "during the unfortunate attack upon Rosetta." "What sort of a man is he?" I replied, that he bore a very excellent character. "That governor," said he, "was seen stopping him frequently, and pointing in different directions. I suppose that he has been filling his head with *bugie* about me, and has told him that I hate the sight of every Englishman, as some of his *canaille* have said to the officers of the 53d. I shall order a letter to be written to tell him that I will see him."

8th.—A letter written by Count Montholon to General Meade, containing an invitation to come to Longwood, and stating that the emperor would be glad to see him. This was given to Captain Poppleton, who was also requested to inform Mrs. Meade that Napoleon could scarcely request a lady to visit him; but that, if she came, he should be happy to see her likewise. Captain Poppleton delivered this letter open to Sir Hudson Lowe. His excellency handed the note to General Meade. On the road down to James Town, General Meade reined back his horse, and spoke to Captain Poppleton nearly as follows: that he should have been very happy to have availed himself of the invitation, but that he understood restrictions existed, and that he must apply to the governor for permission, and in the next place the vessel was under weigh, and he could not well detain her. This he begged of him to convey to Longwood. A written apology was afterwards sent by him to the count, expressing his thanks for the honour done to him, and excusing himself on the ground of the vessel's being under weigh.

9th.—Napoleon complained of headach, colic, &c.—I wished him to take a dose of physic, which he declined, saying, that he would cure himself by diet and chicken water. He said, that General Meade had written an apology to Count Montholon, expressing his inability to accept of the invitation; "but I am convinced," continued he, "that in reality he was prevented by the governor. Tell him the first time you see him, that I said he prevented General Meade from coming to see me."

General Gourgaud and Montholon complained of the wine, which they suspected contained lead, as it gave them the colic, and desired me to get some tests in order to analyze it.

Young Las Cases and Piontkowski went to town this day, and had a conversation with the Russian and French commissioners. On their return, Piontkowski said, that on their arrival Sir Thomas Reade had sent orders to the lieutenant who accompanied them, not to allow them to separate; and that he must follow them everywhere, and listen to their conversation. While they were speaking to the Rose-bud, (a very pretty young lady, so denominated from the freshness and fineness of her complexion), one of Sir Thomas Reade's orderlies brought out their horses by his command, with directions to inform them that their servant was drunk, and that if they did not leave the town directly, he, (Sir

Thomas), would confine him, as he was a soldier, and punish him for being drunk. That young Las Cases, who was cooler, had desired him to demand an order in writing to that effect; but that in his passion he could not help saying that he would horsewhip any person who attempted to lead the horses away.

10*th.*—Napoleon after some conversation touching the state of his health, said, that "while young Las Cases was speaking to the Russian commissioner yesterday, the governor was walking up and down before the house where they were, watching them. I could not have believed it possible before, that a lieutenant-general and a governor, could have demeaned himself by acting as a *gendarme*. Tell him so the next time you see him."

Napoleon then made some observations upon the bad quality of the wine furnished to Longwood, and remarked, that when he was a *sous lieutenant* of artillery, he had a better table, and drank better wine than at present.

I saw Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards, who asked me if General Bonaparte had made any observations relative to General Meade's not having accepted the offer made to him? I replied, that he had said he was convinced that he, (Sir Hudson), had prevented him from accepting of it, and had desired me to tell him that such was his opinion. No sooner had I pronounced this, than his excellency's countenance changed, and he exclaimed in a violent tone of voice, "He is a d——d lying rascal, a d——d black-hearted villain. I wished General Meade to accept it, and told him to do so." He then walked about for a few minutes in an agitated manner, repeating, "that none but a black-hearted villain would have entertained such an idea;" then mounted his horse, and rode away. He had not proceeded more than about a hundred paces, when he wheeled round, rode back to where I was standing, and said in a very angry manner, "Tell General Bonaparte that the assertion that I prevented General Meade from going to see him, *è una bugia infame, e che è un bugiardone chi l' ha detto.** Tell him my exact words."

Sir Thomas Reade informed me that Piontkowski's account of the transaction in town was false; that the only orders he had given to Lieutenant Sweeny, were not to lose sight of them. That seeing their servant was so drunk, that he could not sit on horseback, he had sent his own orderly to assist in bringing the horses out, merely as an act of civility.

12*th.*—Napoleon still unwell; complained of slight colic. Recommended him strongly to take a dose of Epsom salts. In a good-humoured manner he gave me a slap in the face, and said, if he was not better to-morrow, he would take his own medicine, crystals of tartar. During the conversation, I informed him that the governor had assured me that he had not only not prevented General Meade from seeing him, but that he had recommended him to accept of the invitation. "I do not believe him," said Napoleon, "or if he did, it was done in such a manner as to let the other know that he would rather wish he did not avail himself of it."

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* The words were delivered in Italian, and signify in English, "*is an infamous lie, and the person who said it, is a great liar.*"—It is almost unnecessary for me to say, that I did not deliver this message in the manner I was directed to convey it.

I related afterwards to him the explanation given to me by Sir Thomas Reade, of Piontkowski's affair. "What I complain of," said he, "is the disingenuous manner in which they act, in order to prevent any of the French from going to the town. Why do they not say at once manfully, 'You cannot go to town,' and then nobody will ask, instead of converting officers into spies and *gendarmes*, by making them follow the French everywhere, and listen to their conversation. But their design is to throw so many impediments in the way, and render it so disagreeable to us as to amount to a prohibition, without giving any direct orders, to enable this governor to say that we have the liberty of the town, but that we do not choose to avail ourselves of it."

I saw Sir Hudson Lowe in town, to whom I explained what I had said to Napoleon about

Piontkowski, his reply, also the complaint made by Generals Gourgaud and Montholon of the wine, and his request that I might procure some tests to analyze it. A few bottles of claret have been borrowed from Capt. Poppleton for Napoleon's own use.

13th.—Napoleon much better. Had a conversation with Mr. Balcombe relative to the concerns of the establishment.

A large quantity of plate weighed for the purpose of being broken up for sale. Information given of this by Captain Poppleton to Sir Hudson Lowe. Complaints made by Count Montholon and Cipriani of the state of the copper saucepans at Longwood. Found them, on examination, to be in want of immediate tinning. Communicated the above to Major Gorrequer, with a request that a tradesman might be sent forthwith to repair them. A letter came from Mr. Balcombe to Count Montholon, containing the scale of provisions,* &c. which had been fixed for their daily use, according to the reduction ordered by the governor. Montholon refused to sign any more receipts.

In the evening, Cipriani went to Capt. Maunsell, and requested of him to obtain for him a dozen or two of the same claret which for two or three days they had borrowed from Captain Poppleton for the emperor, and which had been got from the

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* See Appendix, No. V.

53d's mess, as that sent up from James Town had given him the colic, adding that they would either pay for it, or return an equal quantity. This request was interpreted by me to Capt. Maunsell, who said that he would endeavour to procure it.

Received an answer from Major Gorrequer, acquainting me that he had ordered a new *batterie de cuisine* to be sent to Longwood, &c. &c.

Sir Hudson Lowe and staff in camp; he was very angry at the request which had been made to Captain Maunsell to procure the wine. It appeared that Capt. Maunsell had mentioned it to his brother, and to the wine-committee of the regiment, who proposed to send a case of claret to Napoleon. This was told to Sir George Bingham, and reported by him to the governor, who sent for me, and said, that I had no business to act as interpreter on such an occasion. Major Gorrequer observed, that the wine had been sent out for the use of General Bonaparte, and that he ought to be obliged to drink it, or get nothing else.

15th.—Wrote to Major Gorrequer, in answer to some points of his last letter, and gave him an explanation about the wine affair of yesterday; in which I stated that General Gourgaud had affirmed that there was lead in the wine, and had begged of me to procure some tests for the purpose of ascertaining the fact; adding, that I had acquainted Sir Hudson Lowe with this request the last time I had seen him in town. I hinted also, that it was very natural for Napoleon to believe General Gourgaud's assertion (who was considered to be a good chemist), until it was proved not to be correct. This letter I requested him to lay before the governor.

17*th.*—Gave a minute explanation to Sir Hudson Lowe in person of the wine transaction between Captain Maunsell, Cipriani, and myself, with which his excellency was pleased to say he was perfectly satisfied.

This day, Major Gorrequer, in the course of conversation with me relative to the provisioning of Longwood, said, that Sir Hudson Lowe had observed, that any soldiers who would attend at Longwood as servants to General Bonaparte, *were unworthy of rations.* Sir Thomas Reade begged of me to try and get him some of Napoleon's plate *whole*, which, he observed, would *sell* better in that state than if it were broken up.

18*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Sir Thomas Reade told me that Bertrand had injured himself very much in his conversation with the governor, as the latter had found it to be his duty to write a strong letter on the subject to Lord Bathurst.

19*th.*—A large portion of Napoleon's plate broken up, the imperial arms and the eagles cut out and put by. Count Montholon applied to Captain Poppleton for an officer to accompany him to James Town, for the purpose of disposing of the plate, with which the latter acquainted the governor forthwith by an orderly. Received back an order to acquaint Count Montholon, "that the money produced by the sale of the silver should not be paid to him, but be deposited in the hands of Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, for the use of General Bonaparte."

21*st*.—Sir Pulteney Malcolm came up to Longwood, in order to take leave of Napoleon, prior to his departure for the Cape of Good Hope, which was expected to take place in a few days. Had a long interview, and was received very graciously by Napoleon, the conversation was chiefly relative to the Scheldt, Antwerp, battles in Germany, the Poles, &c.

Wrote last night to Sir Thomas Reade, by request of Madame Bertrand, to know whether permission would be granted that a phaeton, which had been purchased with Napoleon's own money, and afterwards given by him to Madame Bertrand, might be sent to the Cape for sale by Sir Pulteney Malcolm's ship. Concluded by requesting him to let me know, before he applied to the governor, if there was any impropriety in the request, as in that case it should not be made.

23*rd*.—Received an answer from Sir Thomas Reade, announcing that the governor had given his consent for the sale of the phaeton, with a proviso, that the money derived from it should not be paid to themselves, but deposited in Mr. Balcombe's hands. Three of Bertrand's servants very seriously ill.

Heard a curious anecdote of Gen. Vandamme. When made prisoner by the Russians, he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding, that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, whilst the other prisoners were sent to a much less northern destination. Vandamme replied, with great *sang froid*, "It may be, sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I have not to reproach myself with having soiled my hands with the blood of a father!!"

Met Sir Hudson Lowe on his way to Longwood, who observed, that General Bonaparte had done himself a great deal of mischief by the letters which he caused Count Montholon to write, and that he wished him to know it. That by conducting himself properly for some years, the ministers might believe him to be sincere, and allow him to return to England. He added, that he (Sir Hudson) had written such letters to England about Count Las Cases, as would effectually prevent his ever being permitted to return to France.

On his arrival at Longwood, the fowls which had been sent up for the day's consumption were shewn to his excellency by Captain P. He was pleased to admit that they were very bad.

27*th.*—The commissioners came up to Longwood gate, and wanted to enter, but were refused admission by the officer of the guard, as their passes did not specify Longwood, but merely "wherever a British officer might pass."

28*th.*—Napoleon occupied in reading Denon's large work on Egypt, from which he was making some extracts with his own hand.

October 1*st.*—Repeated to Napoleon what Sir Hudson Lowe had desired me on the 23d. He replied, "I expect nothing from the present ministry but ill treatment. The more they want to lessen me, the more I will exalt myself. It was my intention to have assumed the name of Colonel Meuron, who was killed by my side at Arcola, covering me with his body, and to have lived as a private person in England, in some part of the country where I might have lived retired, without ever desiring to mix in the grand world. I would never have gone to London, nor have dined out. Probably I should have seen very few persons. Perhaps I might have formed a friendship with some *savans.* I would have rode out every day, and then returned to my books." I observed, that as long as he kept up the title of majesty, the English ministers would have a pretext for keeping him in St. Helena. He replied, "they force me to it. I wanted to assume an *incognito* on my arrival here, which was proposed to the admiral, but they will not permit it. They insist on calling me General Bonaparte. I have no reason to be ashamed of that title, but I will not take it from them. If the republic had not a legal existence, it had no more right to constitute me general, than first magistrate. If the admiral had remained," continued he, "perhaps matters might have been arranged. He had some heart, and to do him justice, was incapable of a mean action. Do you think," added he, "that he will do us an injury on his arrival in England?" I replied, "I do not think that he will render you any service, particularly in consequence of the manner in which he was treated when he last came up to see you, but he will not tell any falsehoods: he will strictly adhere to the truth, and give his opinion about you, which is not very favourable." "Why so," replied he, "we were very well together on board ship. What can he say of me? that I want to escape, and mount the throne of France again?" I replied, that it was very probable he would both think and say so. "Bah," replied Napoleon. "If I were in England now, and a deputation from France were to come and offer me the throne, I would not accept of it, unless I knew such to be the unanimous wish of the nation. Otherwise I should be obliged to turn *bourreau*, and cut off the heads of thousands to keep myself upon it—oceans of blood must flow to keep me there.—I have made noise enough in the world already, perhaps too much, and am now getting old, and want retirement. These," continued he, "were the motives which induced me to abdicate the last time." I observed to him, that when he was emperor, he had caused Sir George Cockburn's brother to be arrested, when envoy at Hamburg, and conveyed to France, where he was detained for some years. He appeared surprised at this, and endeavoured to recollect it. After a pause, he asked me, if I was sure that the person so arrested was Sir George Cockburn's brother. I replied, that I was perfectly so, as the admiral had told me the circumstance himself. "It is likely enough," replied he, "but I do not recollect the name. I suppose, however, that it must have been at the time when I caused all the English I could find on the continent to be detained, because your government had seized upon all the French ships, sailors, and passengers they could lay their hands upon in harbour, or at sea, before the declaration of war. I, in my turn, seized upon all the English that I could find at land, in order to shew them, that if they were all-powerful at sea, and could do what they liked there, I was equally so by land, and had as good a right to seize people on my element as they had upon theirs. *Now*," said he, "I can comprehend the reason why your ministers selected him. I am surprised, however, that he never told me any thing about it. A man of delicacy would not have accepted the task of conducting me here under similar circumstances. You will see," continued he, "that in a short time the English will cease to hate me. So many of them have been, and are in France, where they will hear the truth, that they will produce a revolution of opinion in England—I will leave it to them to justify me, and I have no doubts about the result."

Learned that the commissioners had obtained permission from Sir Hudson Lowe to come as far as the inner gate of Longwood.

Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by Sir Thos. Reade, Major Gorrequer, Wynyard, and Prichard, and followed by three dragoons and a servant, rode into Longwood, alighted in front of the billiard-room, and demanded to "see General Bonaparte." A reply was given by General Montholon, that he was indisposed. This did not satisfy his excellency, who sent again in rather an authoritative manner, to say, that he had something to communicate, which he wanted to deliver in person to General Bonaparte, and to no other person would he give it. An answer was sent, that notice would be given to him when he could be received, that Napoleon was then suffering with a bad tooth. At four, p. m. Napoleon sent for me, and desired me to look at one of the *dentes sapientiæ*, which was carious and loose. He then asked me if I knew what the governor wanted, or why he wished to see him? I replied, that perhaps, he had some communication from Lord Bathurst, which he did not like to deliver to any other person. "It will be better for us not to meet," said Napoleon. "It is probably some *bêtise* of Lord Bathurst, which he will make worse by his ungracious manner of communicating it. I am sure it is nothing that is good, or he would not be so anxious to deliver it himself, Lord **** is a bad man, his communications are bad, and *he* is worse than all. Nothing good can arise from an interview."

"The last time I saw him he laid his hand upon his sabre two or three times in a violent manner, therefore go to him or to Sir T. Reade to-morrow, and tell him that if he has any thing to communicate, he had better send it to Bertrand, or Bertrand will go to his house; assure him that he may rely upon Bertrand's making a faithful report. Or let him send Colonel Reade to me to explain what he has to say; I will receive and hear him, because he will be only the bearer of orders and not the giver of them; therefore if he comes upon a bad mission, I shall not be angry, as he will only obey the orders of a superior." I endeavoured to induce him to meet the governor, in order, if possible, to make up the differences between them; but he replied, "to meet him would be the worst mode of attempting it, as he was confident it was some *bêtise* of Lord Bathurst's which he would make worse, and convert into an insult by his brutal mode of delivering it. You know," added he, "I never got into a passion with the admiral, because even when he had something bad to communicate, he did it with some feeling; but this man treats us as if we were so many deserters."

Knowing that Sir Thomas Reade was quite incapable of explaining to him in either French or Italian the purport of any communication exceeding a few words, I asked him, "In case Sir Thomas Reade should not find himself capable of explaining perfectly every particular, and should commit what he had to say to paper, if he would read it, or allow it to be read to him?" he replied, "certainly, let him do this, or send it to Bertrand. As to me, perhaps I shall not see him for six months. Let him break open the doors or level the house, I am not subject to the English laws, because they do not protect me. I am sure," continued he, "that he has nothing pleasant to communicate, or he would not be so anxious to do it personally. Nothing but insults or bad news ever came from Lord Bathurst. I wish they would give orders to have me despatched. I do not like to commit suicide; it is a thing that I have always disapproved of. I have made a vow to drain the cup to the last draught; but I should be most rejoiced if they would send directions to put me to death."

2*nd*.—Saw Napoleon in the morning. A tooth-ach, he said, had prevented him from sleeping a great part of the night: his cheek was swelled. After having examined the tooth, I recommended the extraction of it. He desired me to go to the governor and deliver a message, the purport of which was, that in consequence of indisposition, pain, and want of sleep, he found himself unfit to listen calmly to communications, or to enter into discussions; therefore that he wished the governor would communicate to Count Bertrand whatever he had to say. That Count Bertrand would faithfully report it to him. If he would not communicate it to Count Bertrand, or to any other resident at Longwood, Napoleon would have no objection to receive it from Colonel Reade. The remainder of the message was similar to what he had said on the same subject yesterday. "If," added he, "that man were to bring me word that a frigate had arrived for the purpose of taking me to England, I should conceive it to be bad news, because he was the bearer of it.

With such a temper of mind, you must see how improper it would be that an interview should take place. He came up here yesterday, surrounded with his staff, as if he were going in state to assist at an execution, instead of asking privately to see me. Three times has he gone away in a passion, therefore it will be better that no more interviews should take place between us, as no good can arise from it; and, as he represents his nation here, I do not like to insult or make severe remarks to him, similar to those I was obliged to express before.

Went to Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I made known the message with which I had been charged, suppressing the offensive parts, but communicating all that was necessary to elucidate its meaning. His excellency desired me to give it to him in writing, and then told me, that the secretary of state had sent directions to him to inquire very minutely concerning a letter which had appeared in one of the Portsmouth papers concerning Bonaparte, and which had given great offence to his majesty's ministers; particularly as it had been reported to them by Captain Hamilton of the Havannah frigate, that I was either the author, or had brought it on board. His excellency then asked me who I had written to, adding, " there is no harm in the letter. It is very correct in general, but the ministers do not like that any thing should be published about him. Every thing must come through them;" also that Captain Hamilton had reported that it was an anonymous letter, and expressly intended for publication. I replied to Sir Hudson Lowe, that I had never written an anonymous letter in my life, and that several letters had been published in the newspapers, of which I had been supposed the author, until another individual had acknowledged them to have been written by him. Sir Hudson Lowe desired me to write a letter of explanation to him on the subject; after which, he dictated to Sir Thomas Reade what he wished me to express in answer to General Bonaparte, of which I took the following copy; which the governor read before I left the house.

" The principal object of the governor's visit to Longwood to see General Bonaparte, was from a sense of attention towards him, in order to acquaint him, first, with instructions received concerning his officers, which could only be decided by him, before informing them. The governor would wish the communication with General Bonaparte should be made by himself, in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, or some of his own staff, and one of the French generals. He never intended to say any thing which would affront or insult General Bonaparte; on the contrary, he wished to conciliate and modify the strict letter of his instructions, with every attention and respect to him, and cannot conceive the cause of so much resentment manifested by General Bonaparte towards him. If he would not consent to an interview with the governor, in the presence of other persons, the governor would send Sir Thomas Reade, (if he consented to it,) to communicate the general purport of what he had to say, leaving some points for future discussion. If Count Bertrand was sent to the governor, some expression of concern would be required from him for the language made use of by him to the governor, on the last interview which the governor undertook, by desire of General Bonaparte himself; and the governor conceives the same expression of concern necessary from Count Bertrand, on the part of General Bonaparte himself, for his intemperate language in the last interview with the governor; and *then*, the latter will express his concern for any words made use of by him in reply, which may have been deemed unpleasant, as there was no intention on his part, of saying any thing offensive, his words being merely repelling an attack made upon him, and this he would not do to a person in any other situation than that of General Bonaparte. But if the latter is determined to dispute with the governor for endeavouring to execute his orders, he sees little hope of a proper understanding between them."

On my return to Longwood, I minutely explained the above to Napoleon, both alone, and in the presence of Count Bertrand. Napoleon smiled contemptuously at the idea of *his* apologizing to Sir Hudson Lowe.

3rd.—Saw Napoleon in the morning. After I had inquired into the state of his health, he entered upon the business of yesterday. "As this governor," says he, "declares that he will not communicate the whole to Reade, but intends to reserve some future points for discussion, I shall not see him, for I only agree to see Reade, in order to avoid the sight of the other; and by reserving the points he speaks of, he might come up again to-morrow or next day, and demand another interview. If he wants to communicate, let him send his adjutant-general to Bertrand, or to Montholon, or to Las Cases, or Gourgaud, or to you; or send for one of them, and explain it himself; or let him communicate the *whole* to Reade, or to Sir George Bingham, or somebody else; and then I will see the person so chosen. If he still insists on seeing me, I will write myself in answer, 'The Emperor Napoleon will not see you, because the three last times you were with him, you insulted him, and he does not wish more communication with you.' I well know, that if we have another interview, there will be disputes and abuse; a suspicious gesture might produce, I know not what. He, for his own sake, ought not to desire one, after the language which I applied to him the last time. I told him, before the admiral, when he said that he only did his duty, that so did the hangman, but that one was not obliged to see that hangman until the moment of execution. *Ci sono state tre scene, Scene vergognose!* I do not wish to renew them. I know that my blood will be heated. I will tell him that no power on earth obliges a prisoner to see and debate with his executioner; for his conduct has made him such to me. He pretends that he acts according to his instructions; a government two thousand leagues distant can do no more than point out the general manner in which things must be conducted, and must leave a great discretionary power, which he distorts and turns in the worst possible manner, in order to torment me. A proof that he is worse than his government is, that they have sent out several things to make me comfortable; but he does nothing but torment, insult, and render my existence as miserable as possible. To complete the business, he writes letters full of smoothness and sweetness, professing every regard, which he afterwards sends home to make the world believe that he is our best friend. I want to avoid another *scena* with him. I never, in the height of my power, made use of such language to any man, as I was compelled to apply to him. It would have been unpardonable at the

Thuilleries. I would sooner have a tooth drawn, than have an interview with him. He has a bad mission, and fulfils it badly. I do not think that he is aware how much we hate and despise him; I should like him to know it. He suspects every body, even his own staff are not free from it. You see that he will not confide to Reade. Why does he not go to Montholon, or Las Cases, if he does not like Bertrand?" I replied, that Sir Hudson Lowe had said he could not repose confidence in the fidelity of either of them, in reporting the purport of his conversation. "Oh," said he, "he is offended with Montholon about that letter, written in August last, and with Las Cases, because he not only writes the truth to a lady in London, but tells it everywhere here." I replied, "the governor has accused Count Las Cases of having written many falsehoods respecting what has passed here." "Las Cases," replied he, "would not be blockhead enough to write lies, when he was obliged to send the letters containing them through his hands. He only writes the truth, which that *geolier* does not wish to be known. I am sure that he wants to tell me that some of my generals are to be removed, and wishes to throw the odium of sending them away upon me, by leaving the choice to me. They would send you away too, if they were not afraid you would do some mischief in England, by telling what you have seen. Their design, I believe, is to send every body away who might be inclined to make my life less disagreeable. Truly they have chosen a pretty representative for Bathurst. I would sooner have an interview with the corporal of the guard, than with that *galeriano.* How different it was with the admiral! We used to converse together sociably, on different subjects, like friends. But this man is only fit to oppress and insult those whom misfortune has placed in his power."

After this, he conversed upon various subjects. He made some observations upon the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with Prince Leopold, and spoke in terms of praise of the latter, whom he had seen at Paris during his reign.

According to his desire, I wrote an account of what he had said to Sir Hudson Lowe; avoiding, however, to repeat the strongest of his expressions.

4th.—Sir Thomas Reade came up to my room at Longwood, with a written paper from the governor, containing the new instructions which the latter had received from England. I went to Napoleon and announced him. He asked me, "if he was in full possession of every thing?" I replied, that he had told me so. He desired me to introduce him. When I went back, Sir Thomas Reade told me that his mission was not a very pleasant one, and that he hoped "Bonaparte would not be offended with him," and asked me how he should explain it to him. I told him how to express himself to this effect in Italian. We then went into the garden where Napoleon was: I introduced him, and left them together. In a few minutes, Napoleon called Count Las Cases, and told him to translate aloud, in French, the contents of the paper, according as Reade repeated it. When Reade came to my room on his return, he said that Napoleon had been very civil to him, and that so far from being offended, he had asked him the news and laughed, and only observed, (as the knight repeated in his Italian,) "*Più mi si perseguiterà, meglio andrà e mostrerà al mondo che rabbia di persecuzioni. Fra poco tempo mi si leveranno tutti gli altri, e qualche mattina m'ammazzeranno.*" Sir Thomas then allowed me to read the paper, the contents of which were as follows: "That the French, who wished to remain with General Bonaparte, must sign the simple form, which would be given to them, of their willingness to submit to whatever restrictions might be imposed upon General Bonaparte, without making any remarks of their own upon it. Those who refused, would be sent off directly to the Cape of Good Hope. The establishment to be reduced in number four persons; those who remained, were to consider themselves to be amenable to the laws, in the same manner as if they were British subjects, epecially to those which had been framed for the safe custody of General Bonaparte, and declaring the aiding and assisting of him to escape, felony. Any of them, abusing, reflecting upon, or behaving ill to the governor, or the government they were under, would be forthwith sent to the Cape, where no facilities would be afforded for their conveyance to Europe." It explained, also, that it was not to be understood, that the obligation was to be eternal on those who signed. There was also a demand for 1,400*l.* paid for books, which had been sent out. The whole was couched in language of a highly peremptory nature. Sir Thomas then told me that Count Bertrand was to go the following day to Plantation House, and that I might hint to him, that if he behaved himself well, perhaps none but domestics would be sent away, but that all depended upon his "*good behaviour*."

5th.—While walking down the park in the morning, thinking of the occurrences of yesterday, I heard a voice calling me. Turning about, I was surprised to see the emperor beckoning to, and calling me. After he asked how I was, he said, "*Ebbene, bugiardo sempre questo governatore!* There was nothing in the intelligence, which he said he could only communicate to myself, which might not have been made known through Bertrand, or any one else. But he thought that he had an opportunity of insulting and grieving me, which he eagerly embraced. He came up here with his staff, just as if he were going to announce a wedding, with exultation and joy painted on his countenance, at the idea of having it in his power to afflict me. He thought to plant a *stilo* in my heart, and could not deny himself the pleasure of witnessing and enjoying it personally. Never has he given a greater proof of a bad mind, than thus wishing to stab to the heart, one whom misfortunes had placed in his power." He then repeated some parts of the communication of yesterday, and observed that it ought to be sent to them in writing, as it was impossible for a Frenchman to understand a communication in English, by having heard it read only a few minutes. I took the liberty of strongly recommending that matters should be accommodated as much as possible; as I said I had reason to believe that the governor was inclined to grant that domestics should be sent away, instead of any of the generals; but that if irritated, he might act otherwise. He replied, "*Voi ragionate come un uomo libero,* but we are not free; we are in the power of a *boja, non c'è rimedio.* They will send away the rest by degrees, and it is as well for them to go now, as in a little time. What advantage shall I gain by having them here until the arrival of the next ship from England, or until that *animale* finds out some pretext to send them away. I would rather they were all gone, than to have four or five persons trembling about me, having the dread of being forced on board ship constantly hanging over their heads. For, by that communication of yesterday, they are placed entirely at his discretion. Let him send every body away, plant sentinels at the doors and windows, and send up nothing but bread and water, I regard it not. My mind is free. I am just as independent as when I commanded an army of six hundred thousand men; as I told him the other day. This heart is as free as when I gave laws to Europe. He wants them to sign restrictions without knowing what they are. No honest man would sign an obligation, without first knowing what it was. But he wants them to sign to whatever he likes to impose hereafter, and then, with lies always at command, he will assert that he has changed nothing. He is angry with Las Cases, because he wrote to his friends that he was badly lodged and badly treated. Was there ever heard of such tyranny? He treats people in the most barbarous manner; heaps injuries and insults upon them, and then wants to deprive them of the liberty of complaint. I do not," continued he, " think that Lord Liverpool, or *even* Lord Castlereagh, would allow me to be treated in the way I am. I believe that this governor only writes to Lord Bathurst, to whom he tells what he likes."

Sir Hudson Lowe signified to me yesterday, that he had done every thing in his power to prove (after my communication to him) that there was nothing vindictive in his conduct towards General Bonaparte; but that not having been met, he was better pleased to leave matters to their natural course, and to the judgment of the authority to which they had been submitted; and that I might most distinctly contradict to General Bonaparte, that he had laid his hand upon his sword; that witnesses could prove it; that none but a confirmed villain could think of doing so against an unarmed man. That with respect to the instructions he had received, and his manner of making them known; never having regarded General Bonaparte's opinion in any point, whether as to matter or manner, as an oracle by which to regulate his judgment, he was not disposed to think less favorably of the instructions, or of his mode of executing them; on the contrary, that Bonaparte was, he feared, insensible to any delicacy of proceeding; so that with him, one must either be a blind admirer of his frailties, or a yielding instrument to work with, a mere slave in thought to him. Otherwise, he who has business which opposes his views, must make up his mind to every species of obloquy. He added, that he had sent Sir Thomas Reade with his communication; and concluded by intimating, that before General Bonaparte proposed any other style of appellation, he should himself drop the title of emperor, and if he wished to assume a feigned name, why did he not propose one?

Count Bertrand went to Plantation House, where he learned that Piontkowski and three of the domestics were to be sent away.

9th.—Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, accompanied by Colonel Wynyard. They went into Captain Poppleton's room, where they appeared to be very busily occupied for two hours. During this time the governor frequently came out, and walked up and down before the door, with one of his arms elevated, and the end of a finger in the angle of his mouth, as was his general custom when in thought. When they had finished, a sealed packet was given to Captain Poppleton, to be delivered to Count Bertrand; after which his excellency came to me, and after some conversation, asked if I thought that any copies of Montholon's letter to him had been distributed? I replied, that it was very probable; as there was no secret made of its contents; and that the French, as he well knew, publicly avowed their intention and desire to circulate copies of it. He asked me if I thought that the commissioners had got a copy. I replied, "very likely." He appeared very uneasy at this at first; but afterwards said, that he had shewn the letter to them himself.

He then asked me if I had got a copy. I replied, I had. This alarmed his excellency much; who demanded to see it, and said, that it would be *felony* to send it to England. After some discussion upon the subject, during which I observed, that, considering my situation, and my being employed as I was between Longwood and Plantation House, I could not be ignorant of the principal part of what was passing. His excellency said, true; and that it was my duty to tell him every thing that occurred between General Bonaparte and myself. I replied, that if there was any plot for his escape, or correspondence tending to it, or any thing suspicious, I should conceive it my duty to give him notice of it; also if any thing of political importance was uttered by Napoleon, or anecdote, clearing up any part of his history, or which might prove serviceable to him, I would make him acquainted with it; but that I could not think of telling him every thing, especially any thing abusive or injurious, that passed between us, or whatever might tend to generate bad blood, or increase the difference already unhappily existing between them, unless ordered so to do. Sir Hudson at first agreed that it would not be proper to tell him any abuse of himself; but immediately afterwards said, that it was essential for me to repeat it; that *one of the means which General Bonaparte had of escaping, was vilifying* *him; that abusing and lessening the character of the ministry, was an underhand and a vile way of endeavouring to escape from the island;* and therefore, that it was incumbent on me to communicate every thing of the kind instantly. That as to himself, he did not care about his abuse, and would never be actuated by vindictive feelings towards him; but that he wished to know every thing: that nothing ought to be made known or communicated in England, except through him; and that he himself only communicated with Lord Bathurst. Not perfectly agreeing with his excellency's sophistry, especially when I reflected upon the conversation which I had had with him under the trees at Plantation House two days after his last interview with Napoleon; I replied, that it did not appear that all the members of his majesty's government were of a similar opinion, as I had received letters from official persons, with a request to communicate circumstances relative to Bonaparte, and returning thanks for my former letters, which had been shewn to some of the cabinet ministers. The governor was excessively uneasy at this, and observed that those persons had nothing to do with Bonaparte; that the secretary of state, with whom he corresponded, was the only one who ought to know any thing about the matter; that *he* did not even communicate what passed to the Duke of York. That none of the ministers, excepting Lord Bathurst, ought to know what passed; and that all communication, even to his lordship, ought to go through him, and *him only*. His excellency then observed, that my correspondence ought to be subject to the same restrictions as those on the attendants of General Bonaparte. I replied, that if he was not satisfied with the manner in which matters stood, I was ready to resign the situation I held, and go on board ship, as soon as he liked, as I was determined not to give up any of my rights as a British officer. Sir Hudson said, that there was no necessity for this; that it would be very easy to arrange matters; and concluded by observing that it was a business which required consideration, and that he would renew the subject on another day.

10th.—Had some conversation with Napoleon in his dressing room, during which I endeavoured to convince him that Sir Hudson Lowe might in reality have intended to offer civilities at times when his conduct was supposed to be insulting; that his gestures sometimes indicated intentions far from his thoughts; and particularly explained to him that Sir Hudson Lowe's having laid his hand upon his sword, proceeded entirely from an involuntary habit which he had of seizing his sabre, and raising it between his side and his arm, (which I endeavoured to shew him by gestures); that he had himself expressed to me that none but a confirmed villain would attempt to draw upon an unarmed man. "*Per i ragazzi, dottore,*" replied Napoleon, "*se non è boja, almeno ne ha l'aria.* Has he shewn you the new restrictions he has sent to us?" I replied, that he had not said a word about them. "*Ah,*" answered the emperor, "*son certo che abbia qualche cosa sinistra in vista.*"

This evening Count Bertrand came to my room in order that I should assist him in translating some part of the new restrictions,* which were, he said, of a nature so outrageous to the emperor, that he was induced to flatter himself with the idea that he had not understood them. They were those parts where Napoleon was prohibited from going off the high road; from going on the path leading to Miss Mason's; from entering into any house, and from conversing with any person whom he might meet in his rides or walks. Prepared as I was by the governor's manner, and by what I had observed this day, to expect something very severe, I confess that at the first sight of these restrictions, I remained thunderstruck, and even after reading them over three or four times, could scarcely persuade myself that I had properly understood them. While I was employed in assisting Count Bertrand in the translation, Colonel Wynyard knocked, and came into my room. When the count had gone, I told the colonel what he wanted, and asked him if I was right in the construction which I had given, which I explained to him. Colonel Wynyard replied, that I was perfectly correct.

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* See Appendix, No. VI.

11*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me to town. Breakfasted in company with him at Sir Thomas Reade's; after which he told me that he had something particular to say, but that the place was not a proper one, and another time would do. Shewed to him and to Sir Thomas, the translation which I had made of those points in the restriction, of which Count Bertrand had been doubtful. Sir Hudson observed, that I had translated one part rather too strongly, viz. "will be required to be strictly adhered to," but that I had given a perfectly correct explanation of the sense. That the French were not to go down into the valley, or separate from the high road, as space was given them to exercise, only to preserve their health. That they were not to speak to any person, or enter any house; and that there needed no further explanation, as every restriction upon General Bonaparte equally applied to his followers. He concluded by observing, that I had better take an opportunity of telling Bonaparte that I had heard the governor say that the orders originated with the British government, and that *he* was merely the person who carried them into execution, and not the framer.

12*th.*—Napoleon, after asking many questions concerning a trial which took place yesterday, at which I had appeared as an evidence, spoke about the new restrictions, and observed that Bertrand could not be brought to think that he had rightly comprehended them, and asked me my opinion, which I explained to him as briefly and delicately as I could. When I had finished, "*Che rabbia di persecuzioni,*" exclaimed Napoleon. I observed, that I had heard the governor say yesterday, that the orders had originated with the British government, and that he was merely the person who carried them into execution, and not the framer. Napoleon looked at me in a most incredulous manner, smiled, and gave me in a good-natured manner a slap in the face.

A quantity of plate sent to town to-day, and sold in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade to Mr. Balcombe, who was ordered by Reade to pay a certain sum an ounce for it, and the money which it produced, viz. about two hundred and forty pounds, was to lie in Balcombe's hands, and to be drawn for in small sums, as their necessities required.

Two letters arrived from Sir Hudson Lowe for Bertrand. I did not see their contents, but was informed that one related to the new restrictions, and contained assertions that but little alteration had taken place in them, and that very little change in the limits had been ordered. The other a reprimand to Count Las Cases for having presumed to give Mr. Balcombe, (the purveyor), an order on the count's banker in London, without having first asked the governor's permission, and also containing a demand for the price of the books sent out by government for General Bonaparte's use. Notwithstanding this, it appeared that Las Cases had acquainted the governor with his intentions, and obtained his consent, which his excellency had forgotten, and detained Las Cases' order when presented to him by Mr. Balcombe.

13th.—Napoleon in his bath. Complained of headach, and general uneasiness; and was a little feverish. He railed against the island, and observed, that he could not walk out when the sun was to be seen, for half an hour, without getting a headach, in consequence of the want of shade. "*Veramente,*" said he, "it requires great resolution and strength of mind to support such an existence as mine in this horrible abode. Every day fresh *colpi di stilo al cuore da questo boja, che ha piacere a far di male.* It appears to be his only amusement. Daily he imagines modes of annoying, insulting, and making me undergo fresh privations. He wants to shorten my life by daily irritations. By his last restrictions, I am not permitted to speak to any one I may meet. To people under sentence of death, this is not denied. A man may be ironed, confined in a cell, and kept on bread and water, but the liberty of speaking is not denied to him. It is a piece of tyranny unheard of, except in the instance of the man with the iron mask. In the tribunals of the inquisition a man is heard in his own defence; but I have been condemned unheard, and without trial, in violation of all laws divine and human; detained as a prisoner of war in a time of peace; separated from my wife and child, violently transported here, where arbitrary and hitherto unknown restrictions are imposed upon me; extending even to the privation of speech. I am sure," continued he, "that none of the ministers except Lord Bathurst, would give their consent to this last act of tyranny. His great desire of secrecy shews that he is afraid of his conduct being made known, even to the ministers themselves. Instead of all this mystery and espionage, they would do better to treat me in such a manner as not to be afraid of any disclosures being made. You recollect what I said to you when this governor told me in presence of the admiral, that he would send any complaints we had to make to England, and get them published in the journals. You see now, that he is in fear and trembling lest Montholon's letter should find its way to England, or be known to the inhabitants here. They profess in England, to furnish all my wants, and in fact they send out many things: this man then comes out, reduces every thing, obliges me to sell my plate in order to purchase those necessaries of life which he either denies altogether, or supplies in quantities so small as to be insufficient; imposes daily new and arbitrary restrictions; insults me and my followers; concludes with attempting to deny me the faculty of speech, and then has the impudence to write, that he has changed nothing. He says, that if strangers come to visit me, they cannot speak to any of my suite, and wishes that they should be presented by him. If my *son* came to the island, and it were required that he should be presented by him, I would not see him. You know," continued he, "that it was more a trouble than a pleasure for me to receive many of the strangers who arrived; some of whom merely came to gaze at me, as they would at a *curious beast;* but still it was consoling to have the right to see them, if I pleased."

Examined his gums, which were spongy, pale, and bled on the slightest touch. Recommended him to use a larger quantity than ordinary of vegetable and acescent food, and acid gargle, and exercise.

14th.—The paper sent by the governor to Longwood, containing an acknowledgment from the French of their willingness to submit to such restrictions as had, or might be imposed upon Napoleon Bonaparte, was signed by all, and sent to Sir Hudson Lowe. The only alteration made by them, was the substituting of "*l' Empereur Napoléon*," for "*Napoleon Buonaparte.*"

15th.—The papers sent back by the governor, to Count Bertrand, with a demand that *Napoleon Buonaparte* should be inserted in the place of *l' Empereur Napoléon.*

Saw Napoleon, who told me that he had advised them not to sign it, but rather to quit the island, and go to the Cape.

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood. I informed him, that I believed the French would not sign the declaration worded in the manner he wished. "I suppose," replied his excellency, "that they are very glad of it, as it will give them a pretext to leave General Bonaparte, which I shall order them to do." He then sent for Count Bertrand, Count Las Cases, and the remainder of the officers (except Piontkowski), with whom he had a long conversation. At eleven o'clock at night a letter was sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, in which he informed him, that in consequence of the refusal of the French officers to sign the declaration with the words, *Napoleon*

Bonaparte, they and the domestics must all depart for the Cape of Good Hope, *instantly*, in a ship which was ready for their reception; with the exception of a cook, maître d'hôtel, and one or two of the valets; that in consideration of the advanced state of Countess Bertrand's pregnancy, her husband would be permitted to remain until she was able to bear the voyage.

The prospect of separation from the emperor caused great grief and consternation among the inmates of Longwood, who, without the knowledge of Napoleon, waited upon Captain Poppleton after midnight, and signed the obnoxious paper, (with the exception of Santini, who refused to sign any in which he was not styled *l'Empereur)*, which was transmitted to the governor.

16*th*.—Napoleon sent Novarre for me at half past six in the morning. On my arrival he looked very earnestly at me, and said, laughing, "You look as if you had been drunk last night." I replied, no; but that I had dined at the camp, and sat up very late. "*Quante bottiglie, tre?*" he added, holding up three of his fingers. He then communicated the following to me, viz. that Count Bertrand had had a conversation with the governor yesterday, which partly related to him. That he had sent for me, in order that I might explain to the governor his real sentiments on the subject;

and "here," continued he, taking up a piece of paper, in which were contained words, in his own hand-writing, of a meaning similar to the paper which he subsequently gave to me, is "what I have written, and which I intend to send to him." He then read it out aloud, asking me every now and then if I comprehended him, and said, "You will take a copy of this to the governor, and inform him that such are my intentions. If he asks you why it is not signed by me, you will say, that it was unnecessary, because I have read it out and explained it to you from my own hand-writing." After observing that the name of Napoleon was *troppo ben conosciuto*, and might bring back recollections which it were better should be dropped, he desired me to propose his being called Colonel Meuron, who had been killed at his side at Arcola, or Baron Duroc; that as colonel was a title denoting military rank, it might perhaps give umbrage, and therefore probably it would be better to adopt that of Baron Duroc, which was the lowest feodal title. "If the governor," continued he, "consents, let him signify to Bertrand that he acquiesces in one of them, and such shall be adopted. It will prevent many difficulties and smoothen the way. Your eyes," continued he, "look very much like those of a man who had been committing a debauch last night." I explained to him that it was the effect of the wind and dust. He then rang the bell, called St. Denis, took the paper which he had copied from him, made me read it aloud, underlined some passages with his own hand, gave it to me, and gently pushing me out of the room in a smiling manner, told me to go to the governor, and tell him that such were his intentions.

The paper was as follows:*

"Il me revient que dans la conversation qui a eu lieu entre le Général Lowe et plusieurs de ces Messieurs, il s'est dit des choses sur ma position qui ne sont pas conformes à mes pensées.

"J'ai abdiqué dans les mains des représentans de la nation et au profit de mon fils, je me suis porté avec confiance en Angleterre pour y vivre là, ou en Amérique, dans la plus profonde retraite, et sous le nom d'un colonel tué à mes côtés, *resolu de rester étranger à toute affaire politique de quelque nature qu'elle puisse être.*

"Arrivé à bord du Northumberland, on me dit que j'étois prisonnier de guerre, qu'on me transportait au delà de la ligne et que je m'appellais le Général Bonaparte. Je dus porter ostensiblement mon titre d'empereur en opposition au titre de Général Bonaparte qu'on voulait m'imposer.

"Il y a sept ou huit mois le Comte de Montholon proposa de pourvoir à des petites difficultés qui naissent à chaque instant en adoptant un nom ordinaire. L'amiral croit devoir en écrire à Londres, cela en reste là.

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* The translation will be found in the Appendix, No. VII.

"On me donne aujourd'hui un nom qui a cet avantage qu'il ne préjuge pas le passé, mais qui n'est pas dans la forme de la société. *Je suis toujours disposé à prendre un nom qui entre dans l'usage ordinaire,* et réitére, que quand on jugera à propos de faire cesser ce cruel séjour, *je suis dans la volonté de rester étranger à la politique quelque chose qui se passe dans le monde.* Voila ma pensée, toute autre chose qui auroit été dite sur cette matière ne le se seroit pas."

I proceeded immediately to Plantation House, where I delivered the paper to the governor, and made known to him the conversation which I had had. His excellency appeared much surprised, and said, that it was a very important communication, and one which required consideration. After I had made a deposition, the governor wrote on a sheet of paper the following words: "The governor will lose no time in forwarding to the British government the paper presented to him this day by Doctor O'Meara. He thinks, however, that it would be more satisfactory if it was signed by the person in whose name it was presented. The governor does not, however, intend to cast by this the slightest doubts upon the authenticity or validity of the paper, either as to the words or spirit, but merely that it would be better to send it in a form to which no objection could be offered. The governor will consider attentively whether the tenor of his instructions will permit him to adopt either of the names proposed. He would naturally, however, be desirous to defer the use of them in any public communication, until he obtains the sanction of his government for that purpose. The governor will be ready at any time to confer with General Bertrand on the subject. This communication he desired me to shew to Napoleon, and added, " indeed it is no great matter if you leave it with him." He then asked me if I thought Napoleon would sign it. I replied, perhaps he might, particularly if he (Sir Hudson) would authorize him to use either of the names in question. This, however, he said, he could not yet decide upon. After this, his excellency told me that I must have no communication whatever with any official persons in England about Bonaparte; therefore he insisted that I would not mention a word to them of the proposal which I had just made; that he had written to Lord Bathurst about me, and that there was no doubt I should do well; that my situation was one of great confidence, and that none of the ministers, except the one he communicated with, ought to know any thing about what passed at St. Helena. After which he desired me to go back and endeavour to get Napoleon to sign the paper.

On my return, I explained to Napoleon the governor's reply and wishes. He observed, he had not intended that the paper should be left with the governor, but merely read and shewn to him, and then returned, as had taken place once before. That he wished to communicate his sentiments to him, in order to know if he were inclined to meet him half way. That after communications with Bertrand, a proper letter would be written, and that would be the time to sign. He concluded by directing me to get back the paper.

Went accordingly to Plantation House, and acquainted Sir Hudson Lowe that I was directed to bring back the paper, which he returned to me, after some expression of surprise on the part of the governor, and a hint, that such a demand had been caused by shuffling or want of sincerity on the part of Bonaparte, or bad advice from some of his generals. He then asked my opinion whether "Count Montholon imagined himself secure of remaining in the island because he had signed the declaration?" He desired me to say, that applying to the British government, was not asking permission for General Bonaparte to change his name, but merely a demand whether they would recognise such a change. Returned the paper to Napoleon, and explained the governor's sentiments. He observed, that if Sir Hudson Lowe would make known to Bertrand, or even to me, that he authorized the change of name, and would address him accordingly, he (Napoleon) would write a letter, declaring that he would adopt one of the names which had been proposed, which he would sign and send to the governor. "*La metà de' disgusti che ho provato qui,*"* said he, "has arisen from that title." I observed, that many were surprised at his having retained the title after abdication. He replied, "I abdicated the throne of France, but not the title of emperor. I do not call myself Napoleon, emperor of France, but the emperor Napoleon. Sovereigns generally retain their titles. Thus Charles of Spain retains the title of king and majesty, after having abdicated in favour of his son. If I were in England, I would not call myself emperor. But they want to make it appear that the French nation had not a right to make me its sovereign. If they had not a right to make me emperor, they were equally incapable of making me general. A man, when he is at the head of a few, during the disturbances of a country, is called a chief of rebels; but when he succeeds, effects great actions, and exalts his country and himself, from being styled chief of rebels, he is called general, sovereign, &c. It is only success which makes him such. Had he been unfortunate, he would be still chief of rebels, and perhaps perish on a scaffold. Your nation," continued he, "called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the constitution of his country; but his successes obliged them to change, and acknowledge both. It is success which makes the great man. It would appear truly ridiculous in me," added he, "were it not that your ministers force me to it, to call myself emperor, situated as I am here, and would remind one of those poor wretches in Bethlem, in London, who fancy themselves kings amidst their chains and straw."

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* "One half of the vexations that I have experienced here."

He then spoke in terms of great praise of Counts Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and the rest of his suite, for the heroic devotion which they had manifested, and the proofs of attachment to his person which they had given, by remaining with him contrary to his desire. "They had," continued he, "an excellent pretext to go, first, by refusing to sign Napoleon Bonaparte, and next, because I ordered them not to sign. But, no; they would have signed *tiranno Bonaparte*, or any other opprobrious name, in order to remain with me in misery here, rather than return to Europe, where they might live in splendour. The more your government tries to degrade me, so much more respect will they pay to me. They pride themselves in paying me more respect now than when I was in the height of my glory."

"*Pare*," said he then, "*che questo governatore* *è stato sempre spione.* He is fit to be commissary of police in a small town." I asked him, which he thought had been the best minister of police, Savary or Fouché, adding, that both of them had a bad reputation in England. "Savary," said he, "is not a bad man; on the contrary, Savary is a man of a good heart, and a brave soldier. You have seen him weep. He loves me with the affection of a son. The English, who have been in France, will soon undeceive your nation. Fouché is a miscreant of all colours, a priest, a terrorist, and one who took an active part in many bloody scenes in the revolution. He is a man who can worm all your secrets out of you with an air of calmness and of unconcern. He is very rich," added he, "but his riches were badly acquired. There was a tax upon gambling-houses in Paris, but, as it was an infamous way of gaining money, I did not like to profit by it, and therefore ordered, that the amount of the tax should be appropriated to an hospital for the poor. It amounted to some millions, but Fouché, who had the collecting of the impost, put many of them into his own pockets, and it was impossible for me to discover the real yearly sum total."

I observed to him, that it had excited considerable surprise, that during the height of his glory, he had never given a dukedom in France to any person, although he had created many dukes and princes elsewhere. He replied, "because it would have produced great discontent amongst the people. If, for example, I had made one of my marshals Duke of Bourgogne, instead of giving him a title derived from one of my victories, it would have excited great alarm in Bourgogne, as they would have conceived that some feodal rights and territory were attached to the title, which the duke would claim; and the nation hated the old nobility so much, that the creation of any rank resembling them would have given universal discontent, which I, powerful as I was, dared not venture upon. I instituted the new nobility to *écraser* the old, and to satisfy the people, as the greatest part of those I created had sprung from themselves, and every private soldier had a right to look up to the title of duke. I believe that I acted wrong in doing even this, as it lessened that system of equality which pleased the people so much; but, if I had created dukes with a French title, it would have been considered as a revival of the old feodal privileges, with which the nation had been cursed so long."

His gums were in nearly the same state as before; complained of his general health, and added, that he felt convinced that, under all the circumstances, he could not last long. I advised, as remedies, exercise and the diet I had formerly recommended. He observed, that he had put in practice the diet and the other remedies, but as to taking exercise (which was the most essential) the restrictions presented an insurmountable obstacle. He asked many anatomical questions, particularly about the heart, and observed, *Credo che il mio cuore non batte mai, non l'ho sentito mai battere.** He then desired me to feel his heart. I tried for some time, but could not perceive any pulsation, which I attributed to obesity. I had before observed that in him the circulation was very slow, rarely exceeding fifty-eight or sixty in a minute, and most frequently fifty-four.

18*th.*—Captain Piontkowski, Rousseau, Santini, and Archambaud, cadet, were the persons named by Sir Hudson Lowe to be removed from Longwood. Count Montholon desired me to inform the governor, that the emperor did not wish to separate the brothers Archambaud, which moreover would totally disorganize the carriage, and must consequently deprive him of the little means he had of taking exercise, as the governor was aware, that in such a place as St. Helena, where the roads were so dangerous, it was very necessary to have careful drivers. He added, that if the choice of those who were to go were left to Napoleon, he would fix upon Rousseau, Santini, and Bernard, who was a useless subject, and much given to intoxication, or Gentilini, as he thought

* "I think that my heart does not beat; I have never felt it pulsate."

that it would be great cruelty to separate two brothers.

Communicated this to Sir Hudson Lowe, who replied, that the choice was not left to General Bonaparte; that the servants were to be taken from Longwood, and not from Count Bertrand; and moreover, that the orders were to send away *Frenchmen*, and not natives of other countries. That Bernard was a Flamand, and Gentilini an Italian, and therefore did not come within the strict application of his orders; that if Santini had not refused to sign the paper, he would not have accepted him as one, as he was a Corsican, and *not* a Frenchmen. He had no objection however, that all the *Frenchmen* in General Bonaparte's service should draw lots. These circumstances he desired I might impress upon General Bonaparte's mind. He added, that, as by his instructions the choice was left to him, he would give written directions to Captain Poppleton to send away Piontkowski, and both of the Archambauds, if Rousseau remained, or one of them, if Rousseau were to go. He then directed me to ask if he were to expect any further communication respecting the change of name, as the vessel containing his despatches on the subject would sail for England in the evening.*

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* The only reply which His Majesty's ministers condescended to make to this proposal was contained in a scurrilous article in

On my return to Longwood, communicated this to Napoleon: who replied, "Has the governor it in his power to authorize the change; in the note he sent, the contrary appears. I answered, that I knew nothing more than what I had already communicated. "Then," said he, "before any further steps are taken, let him reply positively whether he is authorized or not, *Si o no*." Informed him of his excellency's opinion and decision relative to the domestics who were to leave St. Helena. "Santini not a Frenchman?" said he, "Doctor, you cannot be imbecile enough not to see that this is a pretext to convey an insult to me. All Corsicans are Frenchmen. By taking away my drivers, he wants to prevent me from taking a little carriage-exercise."

19th.—Piontkowski, Santini, Rousseau, and Archambaud the younger, sent by order of Sir Hudson Lowe to town in order to embark. Santini had a pension of fifty pounds, Archambaud and Rousseau twenty-five each, annually, settled upon them; Piontkowski had also a pension and a letter of recommendation. On embarkation, their persons

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the Quarterly Review, No. XXXII. which Sir Hudson Lowe took care should be sent to Longwood as soon as a copy had reached the island. I think that I am justified in attributing the article alluded to to some ministerial person, as the transaction was known only to officers in their employment, and to the establishment at Longwood, and it is evident that the persons composing the latter, could not have been the authors of it.

and baggage were searched by Captain Maunsell, and the prevost serjeant. They sailed in the evening for the Cape. Piontkowski was stripped to the skin by Captain Maunsell.

Communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe Napoleon's last expressions concerning the change of name, who replied, "I believe that it is in my power to approve of it." I then recommended him to see Count Bertrand upon the subject, and his excellency proceeded to Hut's Gate accordingly.

20th.—Count and Countess Bertrand and family moved from Hut's Gate to Longwood.

21st.—Dined at Plantation House in company with the Russian and Austrian commissioners, the botanist, and Captain Gor. They generally expressed great dissatisfaction at not having yet seen Napoleon. Count Balmaine in particular observed that they (the commissioners) appeared to be objects of suspicion; that had he been aware of the manner in which they should have been treated, he would not have come out. That the Emperor Alexander had great interest in preventing the escape of Napoleon, but that he wished him to be well treated, and with that respect due to him: for which reason he (Count Balmaine) had only asked to see him as a private person and not officially as commissioner. That they should be objects of ridicule in Europe, as soon as it was known they had been so many months in St. Helena, without ever once seeing the individual, to ascertain whose presence was the sole object of their mission. That the governor always replied to their questions that Bonaparte had refused to receive any person whatsoever. The botanist held language of a similar tendency, and remarked, that Longwood was "*le dernier séjour du monde*,"* and in his opinion the worst part of the island.

22nd.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me, and observed that the commissioners seemed to have paid me much attention; that he should think nothing of their speaking as long as they had done to me, to any other person, but that it had an appearance as if they wished something to be conveyed to General Bonaparte, and advised me to be very cautious in my conversations with them. He also informed me that Count Bertrand had confirmed to him every communication that I had made relative to the change of name.

23rd.—Napoleon indisposed: one of his cheeks considerably tumefied. Recommended fomentation and steaming the part affected, which he put in practice. Recommended also the extraction of a carious tooth, and renewed the advice I had given on many previous occasions, particularly relative to exercise, as soon as the reduction of the swelling permitted it; also a continuance of diet chiefly vegetable, with fruits.

"There is either a furious wind," replied he,

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* "The worst abode in the world."

"with fog, which gives me a swelled face when I go out, or when that is wanting, there is a sun which scorches my brains (*c'è un sole che mi brucia il cervello*) for want of shade. They continue me purposely in the worst part of the island. When I was at the Briars, I had at least the advantage of a shady walk and a mild climate; *mais ici on arrivera au but qu'on se propose plus vite*," continued he. "Have you seen *lo sbirro Siciliano?*" I replied that Sir Hudson Lowe had informed me that he had written to England an account of his proposal to assume an *incognito* name. "*Non dice altro che bugie*," said Napoleon. "It is his system. Lying," added he, "is not a national vice of the English, but this ***** has all the vices of the little petty states of Italy."

Desired me to endeavour to get him *un fauteuil de malade*, which I communicated to the governor, who returned for answer that he would order one to be made, as no such article was to be found upon the island.

26*th*.—Napoleon out in the carriage for the first time for a considerable period. Observed to me afterwards that he had followed my prescription. His face much better. The *dentes sapientiæ* of the upper jaw were loose and carious. Inquired if there was any news? I replied that we were in daily expectation of hearing the result of Lord Exmouth's expedition, and asked his opinion relative to the probability of success. He replied that he thought it would succeed, especially if the fleet took and destroyed as many of their vessels as they could, then anchored opposite the town, and did not allow a single ship or vessel, not even a fishing-boat, to enter or go out. "Continue that for a short time," added he, "and the dey will submit, or else the *canaille* will revolt and murder him, and afterwards agree to any terms you like. But no treaty will be kept by them. It is a disgrace to the powers of Europe to allow so many nests of robbers to exist. Even the Neapolitans could put a stop to it, instead of allowing themselves to be robbed. They have upwards of fifty thousand seamen in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and with their navy, they might easily prevent a single Barbary ship from stirring out." I observed that the Neapolitans were so great cowards at sea, that the Algerines had the utmost contempt for them. "They are cowards by land as well as by sea," replied the emperor, "but that might be remedied by proper officers and discipline. At Amiens, I proposed to your government to unite with me, either to entirely destroy those nests of pirates, or at least to destroy their ships and fortresses, and make them cultivate their country and abandon piracy. But your ministers would not consent to it, owing to a mean jealousy of the Americans, with whom the barbarians were at war. I wanted to annihilate them, though it did not concern me much, as they generally respected my flag, and carried on a large trade with Marseilles." I asked him if he thought it would be advisable for Lord Exmouth to disembark his marines and seamen, and attack the town of Algiers. "*Oh que non,*" replied he, "if he has but a small force, he will get half his men killed by the *canaglie* in the houses and batteries; and it is not worth sending a large one, unless you are determined to destroy their power altogether."

After this, the conversation turned upon the national debt and the great weight of taxes in England. Napoleon professed himself doubtful that the English could now continue to manufacture goods so as to be able to sell them at the same price as those made in France, in consequence of the actual necessaries of life being so much dearer in England than in France. He professed his disbelief that the nation could support the immense weight of taxes, the dearness of provisions, and the extravagance of a bad administration. "When I was in France," continued he, "with four times the extent of territory, and four times the population, I never could have raised one half of your taxes. How the English *popolazzo* bear it, I cannot conceive. The French would not have suffered one fourth of them. Notwithstanding your great successes," continued he, "which are indeed almost incredible, and to which accident, and perhaps destiny, have much contributed, I do not think that you are yet out of the scrape: though you have the world at command, I do not believe that you will ever be able to get over your debt. Your great commerce has kept you up; but that will fail when you shall no longer be able to undersell the manufacturers of other nations, who are rapidly improving A few years will shew if I am right. The worst thing England has ever done," continued he, "was that of endeavouring to make herself a great military nation. In attempting that, England must always be the slave of Russia, Austria, or Prussia, or at least subservient to some of them; because you have not a population sufficiently numerous to combat on the continent with France, or with any of the powers I have named, and must consequently hire men from some of them; whereas, at sea, you are so superior; your sailors are so much better, that you can always command the others, with safety to yourselves and with little comparative expense. Your soldiers have not the requisite qualities for a military nation. They are not equal in address, activity, or intelligence to the French. When they get from under the fear of the lash, they obey nobody. In a retreat, they cannot be managed: and if they meet with wine, they are so many devils *(tanti diavoli)*, and adieu to subordination.

I saw the retreat of Moore, and I never witnessed any thing like it. It was impossible to collect or to make them do any thing. Nearly all were drunk. Your officers depend for promotion upon interest or money. Your soldiers are brave, nobody can deny it; but it was bad policy to encourage the military mania, instead of sticking to your marine, which is the real force of your country, and one which, while you preserve it, will always render you powerful. In order to have good soldiers, a nation must *always be at war.*"

"If you had lost the battle of Waterloo," continued he, "what a state would England have been in? The flower of your youth would have been destroyed; for not a man, not even Lord Wellington, would have escaped." I observed here that Lord Wellington had determined never to leave the field alive. Napoleon replied, "he could not retreat. He would have been destroyed with his army, if instead of the Prussians, Grouchy had come up." I asked him if he had not believed for some time that the Prussians who had shewn themselves were a part of Grouchy's corps. He replied, "certainly; and I can now scarcely comprehend why it was a Prussian division and not that of Grouchy." I then took the liberty of asking, whether, if neither Grouchy nor the Prussians had arrived, it would not have been a drawn battle. Napoleon answered, "the English army would have been destroyed. They were defeated at mid-day. But accident, or more likely destiny, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it. I could scarcely believe that he would have given me battle; because if he had retreated to Antwerp, as he ought to have done, I must have been overwhelmed by the armies of three or four hundred thousand men that were coming against me. By giving me battle there was a chance for me. It was the greatest folly to disunite the English and Prussian armies. They ought to have been united; and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was folly in Wellington to give me battle in a place, where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat. There was a wood in his rear, and but one road to gain it. He would have been destroyed. Moreover, he allowed himself to be surprised by me. This was a great fault. He ought to have been encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I intended to attack him. He might have lost every thing. But he has been fortunate; his destiny has prevailed; and every thing he did will meet with applause. My intentions were, to attack and to destroy the English. This I knew would produce an immediate change of ministry. The indignation against them for having caused the loss of forty thousand of the flower of the English army, would have excited such a popular commotion, that they would have been turned out. The people would have said, 'What is it to us who is on the throne of France, Louis or Napoleon; are we to sacrifice all our blood in endeavours to place on the throne a detested family? No, we have suffered enough. It is no affair of ours,—let them settle it amongst themselves.' They would have made peace. The Saxons, Bavarians, Belgians, Wirtemburghers, would have joined me. The coalition was nothing without England. The Russians would have made peace, and I should have been quietly seated on the throne. Peace would have been permanent, as what could France do after the treaty of Paris? What was to be feared from her?"

"These," continued he, "were my reasons for attacking the English. I had beaten the Prussians. Before twelve o'clock I had succeeded. I may say, every thing was mine, but accident and destiny decided it otherwise. Doubtless the English fought most bravely, nobody can deny it. But they must have been destroyed.

"Pitt and his politics," continued he, "nearly ruined England by keeping up a continental war with France." I remarked, that it was asserted by many able politicians in England, that if we had not carried on that war, we should have been ruined, and ultimately have become a province of France. "It is not true," said Napoleon, "England being at war with France, gave the latter a pretence and an opportunity of extending her conquest under me, to the length she did, until I became emperor of nearly all the world, which could not have happened, if there had been no war. The conversation then turned upon the occupation of Malta. "Two days," said he, "before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the minister and to others about me of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge me as king of France, provided I would give up Malta to you." —He added, however, that the war would have broken out, had Malta been out of the question. Some conversation then took place relative to English seamen. Napoleon observed, that the English seamen were as much superior to the French, as the latter were to the Spaniards. I ventured to say that I thought the French would never make good seamen, on account of their impatience and volatility of temper. That especially they would never submit without complaining, as we had done at Toulon, to blockade ports for years together, suffering from the combined effects of bad weather, and of privations of every kind. "I do not agree with you there, *Signor dottore*," said he, "but I do not think that they will ever make as good seamen as yours. The sea is yours,—your seamen are as much superior to ours as the Dutch were once to yours.

I think, however, that the Americans are better seamen than yours, because they are less numerous." I observed that the Americans had a considerable number of English seamen in their service, who passed for Americans, which was remarkable, as, independent of other circumstances, the American discipline on board of men-of-war was much more severe than ours. And, that if the Americans had a large navy, they would find it impossible to have so many able seamen in each ship as they had at present. When I observed that the American discipline was more severe than ours, he smiled and said, "*sarebbe difficile a credere.*"

Five, p. m.—Napoleon sent for me. Found him sitting in a chair opposite to the fire. He had gone out to walk, and was seized with rigors, headach, severe cough. Examined his tonsils, which were swelled. Cheek inflamed. Had severest rigors while I was present. "*Je tremble,*" said he to Count Las Cases, who was present, "*comme si j'eusse peur.*" Pulse much quickened. Recommended warm fomentations to his cheek, a liniment to his throat, warm diluents, a gargarism, pediluvium, and total abstinence; all of which he approved of except the liniment. He asked a great many questions about fever.

Saw him again at nine in bed. He had strictly complied with my directions; I was desirous that he should take a diaphoretic, but he preferred trusting to his warm diluents. He imputed his complaint to the *ventaccio*,* eternally blowing over the bleak and exposed site of Longwood. "I ought," said he, "to be at the Briars, or at the other side of the island, instead of being on this horrid spot. While I was there last year at this season, I was very well." He asked what I thought was the easiest mode of dying, and observed that death by cold was the easiest of all others, because "*si muore dormendo*," (one dies sleeping).

Sent a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, acquainting him with Napoleon's illness.

27*th*.—A free perspiration took place in the night, and Napoleon was considerably better. Recommended a continuance of the means he had adopted, and not to expose himself to the wind. He made nearly the same observations as he had done yesterday relative to the exposed and unhealthy situation of Longwood, adding, that it was so bleak a spot that scarcely any vegetable would grow upon it.

Had some conversation with him relative to the Empress Josephine, of whom he spoke in terms the most affectionate. His first acquaintance with that amiable being commenced after the disarming of the sections in Paris, subsequently to the 13th of Vendemiaire, 1795. "A boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to me," continued he, "and entreated that his father's sword, (who had been a general of the republic,) should be returned. I was so touched by this affectionate request, that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnois. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears. I felt so much affected by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*. This first impression was daily strengthened, and marriage was not long in following."

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* *Ventaccio* is a provincial word, which means a nasty or acrid wind.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe. Informed him of Napoleon's state of health, and that he had attributed his complaints to the violence of the wind, and the bleak and exposed situation of Longwood; also that he had expressed a desire to be removed either to the Briars, or to the other side of the island. His excellency replied, "The fact is, that General Bonaparte wants to get Plantation House; but the East India company will not consent to have so fine a plantation given to a set of Frenchmen, to destroy the trees and ruin the gardens."

Eight, p. m.—Napoleon not so well; right jaw much tumefied, with difficulty of swallowing, caused by the inflammation of the tonsils, &c. He would not consent to use any thing except diluents and fomentations. Recommended a purgative to be taken in the morning, and also some other active remedies, which he declined doing, observing that he had never taken any medicine since his childhood; that he knew his own constitution, and was convinced that even a very small dose would produce violent effects: that moreover, perhaps its effects would be contrary to the efforts of nature. That he would trust to diet, diluents, &c.

29th.—Napoleon rather better. Told him that if he were attacked by any of the diseases of the climate, he would, in all probability, be a dead man in a few days, as the means which he was willing to put in execution, were totally inadequate to subdue a formidable complaint, although they might be sufficient to relieve the trifling one under which he had laboured. Notwithstanding all the reasoning and the representations which I made to him, he appeared to think that it was better to do nothing than to take medicines, which he was of opinion were dangerous, or at least doubtful, as they might disturb the operations of nature.

30th.—Napoleon consented to make use of a gargle of infusion of roses and sulphuric acid. There were many vesicles on the inside of his cheek and gums. He inveighed against the *clima* *barbaro* (the barbarous climate) of Longwood, and again mentioned the Briars.*

Informed Sir Hudson Lowe of the state of his health, and of his desire to be removed to the Briars. His excellency replied, that if General Bonaparte wanted to make himself comfortable, and to get reconciled to the island, he ought to draw for some of those large sums of money which he possessed, and lay it out in purchasing a house and grounds. I said, that Napoleon had told me he did not know where his money was placed. Sir Hudson replied, "I suppose he told you that, in order that you might repeat it to me."

November 1st.—Napoleon better. Some tumefaction of the legs, and enlargement of the glands of the thigh. Recommended him to take some sulphate of magnesia, or Glauber's salts. Another portion of plate broken up, in order to be sent to town for sale.

2nd.—Nearly the same. Recommended to him in the strongest terms, to take exercise as soon as the state of his cheeks, and of the weather, would admit of its being put in practice; and gave it as my firm and decided opinion, that unless he put this advice in practice, he would be infallibly attacked by some very serious complaint.

During the conversation, I took the liberty of asking the emperor his reasons for having encouraged the Jews so much. He replied, "I wanted to make them leave off usury, and become like other men. There were a great many Jews in the countries I reigned over; by removing their disabilities, and by putting them upon an equality with Catholics, Protestants, and others, I hoped to make them become good citizens, and conduct themselves like the rest of the community. I believe that I should have succeeded in the end. My reasoning with them was, that, as their rabbins explained to them that they ought not to practise usury against their own tribes, but were allowed to practise it with Christians and others, that, therefore, as I had restored them to all their privileges, and made them equal to my other subjects, they must consider me, like Solomon or Herod, to be the head of their nation, and my subjects as brethren of a tribe similar to theirs. That, consequently, they were not permitted to deal usuriously with them or me, but to treat us as if we were of the tribe of Judah. That enjoying similar privileges to my other subjects, they were, in like manner, to pay taxes, and submit to the laws of conscription, and to other laws. By this I gained many soldiers. Besides, I should have drawn great wealth to France, as the Jews are very numerous, and would have flocked to a country where they enjoyed such superior privileges. Moreover, I wanted to establish an universal liberty of conscience. My system was to have no predominant religion, but to allow perfect liberty of conscience and of thought, to make all men equal, whether Protestants, Catholics, Mahometans, Deists, or others; so that their religion should have no influence in getting them employments under government. In fact, that it should neither be the means of serving, nor of injuring them; and that no objection should be made to a man's getting a situation on the score of religion, provided he were fit for it in other respects. I made every thing independent of religion. All the tribunals were so. Marriages were independent of the priests; even the burying grounds were not left at their disposal, as they could not refuse interment to the body of any person, of whatsoever religion. My intention was to render every thing belonging to the state and the constitution, purely civil, without reference to any religion. I wished to deprive the priests of all influence and power in civil affairs, and to oblige them to confine themselves to their own spiritual matters, and meddle with nothing else." I asked if uncles and nieces had not a right to marry in France. He replied, "Yes, but they must obtain a special permission." I asked if the permission were to be granted by the pope. "By the pope?" said he, "No;" catching me by the ear and smiling, "I tell you that neither the pope, nor any of his priests, had power to grant any thing.—By the sovereign."

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* The Briars is nearly two miles distant from the sea-shore.

I asked some questions relative to the freemasons, and his opinions concerning them. "A set of imbeciles who meet, *à faire bonne chère,* and perform some ridiculous fooleries. However," said he, "they do some good actions. They assisted in the revolution, and latterly to diminish the power of the pope and the influence of the clergy. When the sentiments of a people are against the government, every society has a tendency to do mischief to it." I then asked if the freemasons on the continent had any connexion with the illuminati. He replied, "No, that is a society altogether different, and in Germany is of a very dangerous nature." I asked if he had not encouraged the freemasons? He said, "Rather so, for they fought against the pope." I then asked if he ever would have permitted the re-establishment of the Jesuits in France? "Never," said he, "it is the most dangerous of societies, and has done more mischief than all the others. Their doctrine is, that their general is the sovereign of sovereigns, and master of the world; that all orders from him, however contrary to the laws, or however wicked, must be obeyed. Every act, however atrocious, committed by them pursuant to orders from their general at Rome, becomes in their eyes meritorious. No, no, I would never have allowed a society to exist in my dominions, under the orders of a foreign general at Rome.

In fact, I would not allow any *frati.*[*] There were priests sufficient for those who wanted them, without having monasteries filled with *canaglie,* who did nothing but gormandize, pray, and commit crimes." I observed, that it was to be feared the priests and the Jesuits would soon have great influence in France. Napoleon replied, "very likely. The Bourbons are fanatics, and would willingly bring back both the Jesuits and the inquisition. In reigns before mine, the Protestants were as badly treated as the Jews; they could not purchase land—I put them upon a level with the Catholics. They will now be trampled upon by the Bourbons, to whom they and every thing else liberal will always be objects of suspicion. The Emperor Alexander may allow them to enter his empire, because it is his policy to draw into his barbarous country men of information, whatsoever their sect may be, and moreover, they are not to be much feared in Russia, because the religion is different.

The following is his description of Carnot. A man laborious and sincere, but liable to the influence of intrigues, and easily deceived. He directed the operations of war, without having merited the eulogiums which were pronounced upon him, as he had neither the experience, nor the habitude of war. When minister of war, he shewed but little talent, and had many quarrels with the minister of finance and the treasury; in all of which he was wrong. He left the ministry, convinced that he could not fulfil his station for want of money. He afterwards voted against the establishment of the empire, but as his conduct was always upright, he never gave any umbrage to the government. During the prosperity of the empire, he never asked for any thing; but after the misfortunes of Russia, he demanded employment, and got the command of Antwerp, where he acquitted himself very well. After Napoleon's return from Elba, he was minister of the interior; and the emperor had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was faithful, a man of truth and probity, and laborious in his exertions. On the abdication, he was named one of the provisional government, but he was *joué* by the intriguers by whom he was surrounded. He passed for an original amongst his companions when he was young. He hated the nobles, and on that account had several quarrels with Robespierre, who latterly protected many of them. He was member of the committee of public safety along with Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and the other butchers, and was the only one who was not denounced. He afterwards demanded to be included in the denunciation, and to be tried for his conduct, as well as the others, which was refused; but his having made the demand to share the fate of the rest, gained him great credit.

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[*] Friars.

"Barras," he said, "was a violent man, and possessed of little knowledge or resolution; fickle, and far from meriting the reputation which he enjoyed, although from the violence of his manner and loudness of tone in the beginning of his speeches, one would have thought otherwise."

5th.—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Informed him, that although Napoleon was much better, it was my opinion, that if he persisted in the system of confining himself to his room, and in not taking exercise, he would soon be attacked by some serious complaint, and that in all probability his existence in St. Helena would not be protracted for more than a year or two. Sir Hudson asked with some degree of asperity, "Why did he not take exercise?" I briefly recapitulated to him some of his own restrictions: amongst others, that of placing sentinels at the gates of the garden in which he had formerly walked at six o'clock in the afternoon, with orders to let nobody out; which being the cool of the evening, was the most desirable time to walk. Sir Hudson said they were *not* placed at six o'clock, but only at sun-set. I observed to his excellency, that the sun *set* immediately after six, and that in the tropics, the twilight was of a very short duration.

The governor then sent for Capt. Poppleton, and made some enquiries concerning the posting of the sentinels and their orders. Captain Poppleton informed him that the orders which were issued to the sentinels being verbal, were continually liable to be misunderstood. After some conversation with Capt. P., Sir Hudson Lowe observed, he thought it very extraordinary that General Bonaparte would not ride out with a British officer. I remarked, that he would in all probability, if matters were well managed. For example, if when he mounted his horse, an officer was sent after him at a short distance to watch his motions, I could answer to his excellency that Napoleon, although he should well know what the officer's business was, would never appear to be aware of it, and that he would be just as secure as if an officer rode by his side. I went so far as to say, that Napoleon had himself intimated to me, that he would not *see* any person following him, provided it were not officially made known that he was a guard over him. Sir Hudson replied that he would consider of it, and desired me to write him a statement of my opinion of the health of General Bonaparte; cautioning me, that in writing it, I must bear in mind, that the life of one man was not to be put into competition with the mischief which he might cause, were he to get loose; and that I must recollect, General Bonaparte had been already a curse to the world, and had caused the loss of many thousands of lives. That my situation was very peculiar, and one of great political importance.

A quantity of plate which had been broken up, taken to town by Cipriani, and deposited with Balcombe, Cole, and Co. in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, to whom the key of the chest containing it was delivered.

7th.—Napoleon much better, and nearly free from complaint.

8th.—Napoleon asked me many anatomical and physiological questions, and observed, that he had studied anatomy himself for a few days, but had been sickened by the sight of some bodies that were opened, and abandoned any further progress in that science. After some developement of his ideas touching the soul, I made a few remarks upon the Poles who had served in his army, who I observed were greatly attached to his person. "Ah!" replied the emperor, "they *were* much attached to me. The present viceroy of Poland was with me in my campaigns in Egypt. I made him a general. Most of my old Polish guard are now through policy employed by Alexander. They are a brave nation, and make good soldiers. In the cold which prevails in the northern countries the Pole is better than the Frenchman." I asked him, if in less rigorous climates the Poles were as good soldiers as the French. "Oh, no, no. In other places the Frenchman is much superior. The commandant of Dantzic informed me, that during the severity of the winter, when the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, it was impossible to make the French soldiers keep their posts as sentinels, while the Poles suffered nothing. Poniatowsky," continued he, "was a noble character, full of honour and bravery. It was my intention to have made him king of Poland, had I succeeded in Russia." I asked to what he principally attributed his failure in that expedition. "To the cold, the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow," replied Napoleon. "I was a few days too late—I had made a calculation of the weather for fifty years before, and the extreme cold had never commenced until about the 20th of December, twenty days later than it began this time. While I was at Moscow, the cold was at three of the thermometer, and was such as the French could with pleasure bear; but on the march, the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, and consequently nearly all the horses perished. In one night I lost thirty thousand. The artillery, of which I had five hundred pieces, was in a great measure obliged to be abandoned; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not, through the want of horses, make a *reconnaissance*, or send out an advance of men on horseback to discover the way. The soldiers lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. The most trifling circumstance alarmed them. Four or five men were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of fire. Parties, when sent out on duty in advance, abandoned their posts, and went to seek the means of warming themselves in the houses. They separated in all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and, sleeping, they died. In this manner thousands perished. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations, were no longer the same men. In particular, the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved. Had it not been for that fire at Moscow, I should have succeeded. I would have wintered there. There were in that city about forty thousand citizens who were in a manner slaves. For you must know that the Russian nobility keep their vassals in a sort of slavery. I would have proclaimed liberty to all the slaves in Russia, and abolished vassalage and nobility. This would have procured me the union of an immense and a powerful party. I would either have made a peace at Moscow, or else I would have marched the next year to Petersburgh. Alexander was assured of it, and sent his diamonds, valuables, and ships to England. Had it not been for that fire, I should have succeeded in every thing. Two days before, I beat them in a great action at Moskwa; I attacked the Russian army of two hundred and fifty thousand strong, entrenched up to their necks, with ninety thousand, and totally defeated them. Seventy thousand Russians lay upon the field. They had the impudence to say that they had gained the battle, although I marched into Moscow two days after. I was in the midst of a fine city, provisioned for a year, for in Russia they always lay in provisions for several months before the frost sets in. Stores of all kinds were in plenty. The houses of the inhabitants were well provided, and many had even left their servants to attend upon us. In most of them there was a note left by the proprietor, begging of the French officers who took possession to be careful of their furniture and other effects; that they had left every article necessary for our wants, and hoped to return in a few days, when the emperor Alexander had accommodated matters, at which time they would be happy to see us. Many ladies remained behind. They knew that I had been in Berlin and Vienna with my armies, and that no injury had been done to the inhabitants; and moreover, they expected a speedy peace. We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring. Two days after our arrival, a fire was discovered, which at first was not supposed to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near to the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued very strict orders on the subject to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had increased, but still not so as to give serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life. In order to shew an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eye-brows singed, and my clothes burnt off my back; but it was in vain, as they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand; out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had been hired by Rostopchin, ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches; in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for all but this. It was unforeseen, for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and several of them perished in their endeavours. They also brought before us numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, as amidst such a *popolazzo* we never could have discovered them ourselves. I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot. Had it not been for this fatal fire, I possessed every thing my army wanted; excellent winter quarters; stores of all kinds were in plenty; and the next year would have decided it. Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburgh." I asked if he thought that he could entirely subdue Russia. "No," replied Napoleon; "but I would have caused Russia to make such a peace as suited the interests of France. I was five days too late in quitting Moscow. Several of the generals," continued he, "were burnt out of their beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin * until surrounded by flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country-house of the Emperor Alexander, distant about a league from Moscow, and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, and the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!! *Allons, Docteur*."†

9th.—Had some conversation with the emperor concerning religion. I observed, that in England there were different opinions about his faith; that some had latterly supposed him to be a Roman Catholic. "*Ebbene*," replied he, "*Credo tutto quel che crede la chiesa*." (I believe all that the church believes.) "I used," continued he, "to make the bishop of Nantes dispute with the Pope frequently in my presence. He wanted to re-establish the monks. My bishop used to tell him that the emperor had no objection to persons being monks in their hearts, but that he objected to allowing any society of them to exist publicly. The Pope wanted me to confess, which I always evaded by saying, 'Holy father (*santo padre*), I am too much occupied at present. When I get older.' I took a pleasure in conversing with the Pope, who was a good old man, *ma testardo*, (though obstinate)."

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* General Gourgaud informed me, that during the conflagration, great numbers of crows (which are in myriads at Moscow) perched in flocks upon the towers of the Kremlin, from whence they frequently descended and hovered round the French soldiers, flapping their wings and screaming, as if menacing them with the destruction that followed. He added, that the troops were dispirited by this, which they conceived to be a bad omen.

† This was Napoleon's general expression when he wished me to retire.

"There are so many different religions," continued he, "or modifications of them, that it is difficult to know which to choose. If one religion had existed from the beginning of the world, I should think that to be the true one. As it is, I am of opinion that every person ought to continue in the religion in which he was brought up; in that of his fathers. What are you?" "A protestant," I replied. "Was your father so?" I said, "Yes." "Then continue in that belief."

"In France," continued he, "I received Catholics and Protestants alike at my levee. I paid their ministers alike. I gave the Protestants a fine church at Paris, which had formerly belonged to the Jesuits. In order to prevent any religious quarrels in places where there were both Catholic and Protestant churches, I prohibited them from tolling the bells to summon the people to worship in their respective churches, unless the ministers of the one and the other made a specific request for permission to do so, and stating that it was at the desire and request of the members of each religion. Permission was then given for a year, and if at the expiration of that year the demand was not renewed by both parties again, it was not continued. By these means, I prevented the squabbles which had previously existed, as the Catholic priests found that they could not have their own bells tolled, unless the Protestants had a similar privilege."

"There is a link between animals and the Deity. Man," added he, "is merely a more perfect animal than the rest. He reasons better. But how do we know that animals have not a language of their own? My opinion is, that it is presumption in us to say no, because we do not understand them. A horse has memory, knowledge, and love. He knows his master from the servants, though the latter are more constantly with him. I had a horse myself, who knew me from any other person, and manifested by capering and proudly marching with his head erect, when I was on his back, his knowledge that he bore a person superior to the others by whom he was surrounded. Neither would he allow any other person to mount him, except one groom, who constantly took care of him, and when ridden by him, his motions were far different, and such as seemed to say that he was conscious he bore an inferior. When I lost my way, I was accustomed to throw the reins down his neck, and he always discovered it in places where I, with all my observation and boasted superior knowledge, could not. Who can deny the sagacity of dogs? There is a link between all animals. Plants are so many animals who eat and drink, and there are gradations up to man, who is only the most perfect of them all. The same spirit animates them all in a greater or a lesser degree."

"That governor," added he, "has closed up the path which led to the company's gardens, where I used to walk sometimes, as it is the only spot sheltered from the *vento agro*, which I suppose he thought was too great an indulgence, '*Son certo che ha qualche cattivo oggetto in vista.*' But I do not give myself any uneasiness about it, for when a man's time is come he must go." I took the liberty of asking if he was a predestinarian. "*Sicuro*," replied Napoleon, "as much so as the Turks are. I have been always so. When destiny wills, it must be obeyed. *(Quando lo vuole il destino, bisogna ubbidire.)*"

Asked him some questions about Blucher, "Blucher," said he, "is a very brave soldier, *un bon sabreur*. He is like a bull who shuts his eyes, and, seeing no danger, rushes on. He committed a thousand faults, and had it not been for circumstances I could repeatedly have made him and the greatest part of his army prisoners. He is stubborn and indefatigable, afraid of nothing, and very much attached to his country; but as a general, he is without talent. I recollect that when I was in Prussia, he dined at my table after he had surrendered, and he was then considered to be an ordinary character."

Speaking about the English soldiers, he observed, "the English soldier is brave, nobody more so, and the officers generally men of honour, but I do not think them yet capable of executing grand manœuvres. I think that if I were at the head of them, I could make them do any thing. However, I know them not enough yet to speak decidedly. I had a conversation with Bingham about it; and although he is of a different opinion, I would alter your system. Instead of the lash, I would lead them by the stimulus of honour. I would instil a degree of emulation into their minds. I would promote every deserving soldier, as I did in France. After an action I assembled the officers and soldiers, and asked, who have acquitted themselves best? *Quels sont les braves?* and promoted such of them as were capable of reading and writing. Those who were not, I ordered to study five hours a day until they had learned a sufficiency, and then promoted them. What might not be expected from the English army, if every soldier hoped to be made a general if he behaved well? Bingham says, however, that the greatest part of your soldiers are brutes, and must be driven by the stick. But surely," continued he, "the English soldiers must be possessed of sentiments sufficient to put them at least upon a level with the soldiers of other nations, where the degrading system of the lash is not used. Whatever debases man cannot be serviceable. Bingham says, that none but the dregs of the *canaille* voluntarily enter as soldiers. This disgraceful punishment is the cause of it. I would remove it, and make even the situation of a private soldier be considered as conferring honour upon the individual who bore it. I would act as I did in France. I would encourage young men of education, the sons of merchants, gentlemen, and others, to enter as private soldiers, and promote them according to their merits. I would substitute confinement, bread and water, the contempt of his comrades *(le mépris de ses camarades)*, and such other punishments for the lash. *Quando il soldato è avvilito e disonorato colle fruste, poco* *gli preme la gloria o l'onore della sua patria.** What honour can a man possibly have who is flogged before his comrades. He loses all feeling, and would as soon fight against as for his country, if he were better paid by the opposite party. When the Austrians had possession of Italy, they in vain attempted to make soldiers of the Italians. They either deserted as fast as they raised them, or else, when compelled to advance against an enemy, they ran away on the first fire. It was impossible to keep together a single regiment. When I got Italy, and began to raise soldiers, the Austrians laughed at me, and said that it was in vain, that they had been trying for a long time, and that it was not in the nature of the Italians to fight or to make good soldiers. Notwithstanding this, I raised many thousands of Italians, who fought with a bravery equal to the French, and did not desert me even in my adversity. What was the cause? I abolished flogging and the stick, which the Austrians had adopted. I promoted those amongst the soldiers who had talents, and made many of them generals. I substituted honour and emulation for terror and the lash."

I asked his opinion relative to the comparative merit of the Russians, Prussians, and Germans. Napoleon replied, " Soldiers change, sometimes brave, sometimes *lâches*. I have seen the Russians at Eylau perform prodigies of valour: they were so many heroes. At Moscow, entrenched up to their necks, they allowed me to beat two hundred and fifty thousand men with ninety thousand. At Jena, and at other battles in that campaign, the Prussians fled like sheep; since that time they have fought bravely. My opinion is, that *now*, the Prussian soldier is superior to the Austrian. The French cuirassiers were the best cavalry in the world *pour enfoncer l'infanterie*. Individually, there is no horseman superior, or perhaps equal to the Mameluke; but they cannot act in a body. As partizans, the Cossacs excel, and the Poles as lancers." This he said in reply to a question made by me of his opinion relative to the cavalry.

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* "When a soldier has been debased and dishonoured by stripes, he cares but little for the glory, or the honour of his country."

I asked who he thought was the best general amongst the Austrians. "Prince Charles," he replied, "although he has committed a thousand faults. As to Schwartzenberg, he is not fit to command six thousand men."

Napoleon then spoke about the siege of Toulon, and observed, that he had made General O'Hara prisoner, "I may say," said he, "with my own hand. I had constructed a masked battery of eight twenty-four pounders, and four mortars, in order to open upon fort Malbosquet (I think it was), which was in possession of the English.

It was finished in the evening, and it was my intention to have opened upon them in the morning. While I was giving directions at another part of the army, some of the deputies from the convention came down. In those days they sometimes took upon them to direct the operations of the armies, and those imbeciles ordered the battery to commence, which was obeyed. As soon as I saw this premature fire, I immediately conceived that the English general would attack the battery and most probably carry it, as matters had not been yet arranged to support it. In fact O'Hara, seeing that the fire from that battery would dislodge his troops from Malbosquet, from which last I would have taken the fort which commanded the harbour, determined upon attacking it. Accordingly, early in the morning he put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out, and actually carried the battery and the lines which I had formed (Napoleon here drew a plan upon a piece of paper of the situation of the batteries) to the left, and those to the right were taken by the Neapolitans. While he was busy in spiking the guns, I advanced with three or four hundred grenadiers, unperceived, through a *boyau* covered with olive-trees, which communicated with the battery, and commenced a terrible fire upon his troops. The English, astonished, at first supposed that the Neapolitans, who had the lines on the right, had mistaken them for French, and said, it is those *canaglie* of Neapolitans who are firing upon us (for even at that time your troops despised the Neapolitans). O'Hara ran out of the battery and advanced towards us. In advancing, he was wounded in the arm by the fire of a serjeant, and I, who stood at the mouth of the *boyau*, seized him by the coat, and threw him back amongst my own men, thinking that he was a colonel, as he had two epaulettes on. While they were taking him to the rear, he cried out that he was the commander in chief of the English. He thought that they were going to massacre him, as there existed a horrible order at that time from the convention to give no quarter to the English. I ran up and prevented the soldiers from ill-treating him. He spoke very bad French; and as I saw that he imagined they intended to butcher him, I did every thing in my power to console him, and gave directions that his wound should be immediately dressed, and every attention paid to him. He afterwards begged of me to give him a statement of how he had been taken, in order that he might shew it to his government in his justification."

"Those blockheads of deputies," continued he, "wanted to attack and storm the town first; but I explained to them that it was very strong, and that we should lose many men; that the best way would be to make ourselves masters of the forts which commanded the harbour, and then the English would either be taken, or be obliged to burn the greatest part of the fleet, and escape. My advice was taken; and the English perceiving what would be the result, set fire to the ships and abandoned the town. If a *libeccio*[*] had come on, they would have been all taken. It was Sydney Smith who set them on fire, and they would have been all burnt, if the Spaniards had behaved well. It was the finest *feu d'artifice* possible."

"Those Neapolitans," continued he, "are the most vile *canaglie* in the world. Murat ruined me by advancing against the Austrians with them. When old Ferdinand heard of it, he laughed, and said in his jargon, that they would serve Murat as they had done him before, when Championet dispersed a hundred thousand of them like so many sheep with ten thousand Frenchmen. I had forbidden Murat to act; for, after I returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the Emperor of Austria and me, that if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled it; but that *imbecille*, in spite of the direction I had given him to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff. The Emperor of Austria seeing this, concluded directly that it was by my orders, and that I deceived him; and being conscious that he had betrayed me himself before, supposed that I did not intend to keep faith with him, and determined to endeavour to crush me with all his forces. Twice Murat betrayed and ruined me. Before, when he forsook me, he joined the allies with sixty thousand men, and obliged me to leave thirty thousand in Italy, when I wanted them so much elsewhere. At that time, his army was well officered by French. Had it not been for this rash step of Murat's, the Russians would have retreated, as their intentions were not to have advanced, if Austria did not join the coalition; so that you would have been left to yourselves, and have gladly made a peace."

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[*] A south-wind.

He observed that he had always been willing to conclude a peace with England. "Let your ministers say what they like," said he, "I was always ready to make a peace. At the time that Fox died, there was every prospect of effecting one. If Lord Lauderdale had been sincere at first, it would also have been concluded. Before the campaign in Prussia, I caused it to be signified to him that he had better persuade his countrymen to make peace, as I would be master of Prussia in two months; for this reason, that although Russia and Prussia united might be able to oppose me, yet that Prussia alone could not. That the Russians were three months' march distant; and that as I had intelligence that their plan of campaign was to defend Berlin, instead of retiring, in order to obtain the support of the Russians, I would destroy their army, and take Berlin before the Russians came up, who alone I would easily defeat afterwards. I therefore advised him to take advantage of my offer of peace, before Prussia, who was your best friend on the continent, was destroyed. After this communication, I believe that Lord Lauderdale was sincere, and that he wrote to your ministers recommending peace; but they would not agree to it, thinking that the king of Prussia was at the head of a hundred thousand men; that I might be defeated, and that a defeat would be my ruin. This was possible. A battle sometimes decides every thing; and sometimes the most trifling circumstance decides the fate of a battle. The event, however, proved that I was right; after Jena, Prussia was mine. After Tilsit and at Erfurth," continued he, "a letter containing proposals of peace to England, and signed by the Emperor Alexander and myself, was sent to your ministers, but they would not accept of them.

He spoke of Sir Sydney Smith. "Sydney Smith," said he, "is a brave officer. He displayed considerable ability in the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. He took advantage of the discontent which he found to prevail amongst the French troops, at being so long away from France, and other circumstances. He also manifested great honour in sending immediately to Kleber the refusal of Lord Keith to ratify the treaty, which saved the French army; if he had kept it a secret for seven or eight days longer, Cairo would have been given up to the Turks, and the French army necessarily obliged to surrender to the English. He also shewed great humanity and honour in all his proceedings towards the French who fell into his hands. He landed at Havre, for some *sottise* of a bet he had made, according to some, to go to the theatre; others said it was for espionage; however that may be, he was arrested and confined in the Temple as a spy; and at one time it was intended to try and execute him. Shortly after I returned from Italy, he wrote to me from his prison, to request that I would intercede for him; but under the circumstances in which he was taken, I could do nothing for him. He is active, intelligent, intriguing, and indefatigable; but I believe that he is *mezzo pazzo*."

I asked if Sir Sydney had not displayed great talent and bravery at Acre? Napoleon replied, "Yes, the chief cause of the failure there was, that he took all my battering train, which was on board of several small vessels. Had it not been for that, I would have taken Acre in spite of him.

He behaved very bravely, and was well seconded by Phillipeaux, a Frenchman of talent, who had studied with me as an engineer. There was a Major Douglas also who behaved very gallantly. The acquisition of five or six hundred seamen as cannoniers, was a great advantage to the Turks, whose spirits they revived, and whom they shewed how to defend the fortress. But he committed a great fault in making sorties, which cost the lives of two or three hundred brave fellows, without the possibility of success. For it was impossible he could succeed against the number of the French who were before Acre. I would lay a wager that he lost half of his crew in them. He dispersed proclamations amongst my troops, which certainly shook some of them, and I in consequence published an order, stating that he was *mad*, and forbidding all communication with him. Some days after, he sent, by means of a flag of truce, a lieutenant or a midshipman with a letter containing a challenge to me to meet him at some place he pointed out, in order to fight a duel. I laughed at this, and sent him back an intimation that when he brought Marlborough to fight me, I would meet him. Notwithstanding this, I like the character of the man."

In answer to a remark of mine, that the invasion of Spain had been a measure very destructive to him, he replied, "If the government I established had remained, it would have been the best thing that ever happened for Spain. I would have regenerated the Spaniards; I would have made them a great nation. Instead of a feeble, imbecile, and superstitious race of Bourbons, I would have given them a new dynasty, that would have no claim on the nation, except by the good it would have rendered unto it. For an hereditary race of asses, they would have had a monarch, with ability to revive the nation, sunk under the yoke of superstition and ignorance. Perhaps it is better for France that I did not succeed, as Spain would have been a formidable rival. I would have destroyed superstition and priestcraft, and abolished the inquisition and the monasteries of those lazy *bestie di frati.* I would at least have rendered the priests harmless. The guerillas, who fought so bravely against me, now lament their success. When I was last in Paris, I had letters from Mina, and many other leaders of the guerillas, craving assistance to expel their *friar* from the throne."

Napoleon afterwards made some observations relative to the governor, whose suspicious and mysterious conduct he contrasted with the open and undisguised manner in which Sir George Cockburn conducted himself. "Though the admiral was severe and rough," said he, "yet he was incapable of a mean action. He had no atrocities in contemplation, and therefore made no mystery or secrecy of his conduct. Never have I suspected him of any sinister design. Although I might not like him, yet I could not despise him. I despise the other. As a gaoler, the admiral was kind and humane, and we ought to be grateful to him; as our host, we have reason to be dissatisfied, and to complain of him. This gaoler deprives life of every inducement to me. Were it not that it would be an act of cowardice, and that it would please your ministers, I would get rid of it. *Tengo la vita per la gloria.* There is more courage in supporting an existence like mine, than in abandoning it. This governor has a double correspondence with your ministers, similar to that which all your ambassadors maintain; one written so as to deceive the world, should they ever be called upon to publish it, and the other, giving a true account, for themselves alone." I observed, that I believed all ambassadors and other official persons in all countries, wrote two accounts, one for the public, and the other containing matters which it might not be right to divulge. "True, *signor medico,*" replied Napoleon, taking me by the ear in a good-humoured manner, "but there is not so Machiavelian a ministry in the world as your own. *Cela tient à votre système.* That, and the liberty of your press, obliges your ministers to render some account to the nation, and therefore they want to be able to deceive the public in many instances; but as it is also necessary for them to know the truth *themselves*, they have a double correspondence; one official and false, calculated to gull the nation, when published, or called for by the parliament; the other, private and true, to be kept locked up in their own possession, and not deposited in the archives. In this way, they manage to make every thing appear as they wish to John Bull. Now this system of falsehood is not necessary in a country where there is no obligation to publish, or to render an account; if the sovereign does not like to make known any transaction officially, he keeps it to himself, and gives no explanation; therefore there is no need of causing varnished accounts to be written, in order to deceive the people. For these reasons, there are more falsifications in your official documents, than in those of any other nation."

10*th.*—Wrote a statement to Sir Hudson Lowe, purporting it to be my opinion, that a further continuance of confinement and want of exercise would be productive of some serious complaint to Napoleon, which in all probability would prove fatal to him.

12*th.*—Conversed with Napoleon, who was in his bath, for a considerable time. On asking his opinion of Talleyrand, "Talleyrand," said he, "*le* *plus vil des agioteurs, bas flatteur. C'est un homme corrompu,* who has betrayed all parties and persons. Wary and circumspect; always a traitor, but always in conspiracy with fortune, Talleyrand treats his enemies as if they were one day to become his friends; and his friends, as if they were to become his enemies. He is a man of talent, but venal in every thing. Nothing could be done with him but by means of bribery. The kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria made so many complaints of his rapacity and extortion, that I took his portfeuille from him: besides, I found that he had divulged to some *intrigants,* a most important secret which I had confided to him alone. He hates the Bourbons in his heart. When I returned from Elba, Talleyrand wrote to me from Vienna, offering his services, and to betray the Bourbons, provided I would pardon and restore him to favour. He argued upon a part of my proclamation, in which I said there were circumstances which it was impossible to resist, which he quoted. But I considered that there were a few I was obliged to except, and refused, as it would have excited indignation if I had not punished somebody."

I asked if it were true that Talleyrand had advised him to dethrone the King of Spain, and mentioned that the Duke of Rovigo had told me that Talleyrand had said in his presence, "Your majesty will never be secure upon your throne, while a Bourbon is seated upon one." He replied, "True, he advised me to do every thing which would injure the Bourbons, whom he detests."

Napoleon shewed me the marks of two wounds; one a very deep cicatrice above the left knee, which he said he had received in his first campaign of Italy, and was of so serious a nature, that the surgeons were in doubt whether it might not be ultimately necessary to amputate. He observed, that when he was wounded, it was always kept a secret, in order not to discourage the soldiers. The other was on the toe, and had been received at Eckmühl. "At the siege of Acre," continued he, "a shell thrown by Sydney Smith fell at my feet. Two soldiers who were close by, seized, and closely embraced me, one in front and the other on one side, and made a rampart of their bodies for me, against the effect of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed us with sand. We sunk into the hole formed by its bursting; one of them was wounded. I made them both officers. One has since lost a leg at Moscow, and commanded at Vincennes when I left Paris. When he was summoned by the Russians, he replied, that as soon as they sent him back the leg he had lost at Moscow, he would surrender the fortress. Many times in my life," continued he, "have I been saved by soldiers and officers throwing themselves before me when I was in the most imminent danger. At Arcola, when I was advancing, Colonel Meuron, my aid-de-camp, threw himself before me, covered me with his body, and received the wound which was destined for me. He fell at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face. He gave his life to preserve mine. Never yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shewn by soldiers as mine have manifested for me. In all my misfortunes, never has the soldier, even when expiring, been wanting to me—never has man been served more faithfully by his troops. With the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur!*"

I asked, if he had gained the battle of Waterloo, whether he would have agreed to the treaty of Paris. Napoleon replied, "I would certainly have ratified it. I would not have made such a peace myself. Sooner than agree to much better terms I abdicated before; but finding it already made, I would have kept it, because France had need of repose."

13th.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent orders to Count Las Cases to dismiss his present servant, and to replace him by a soldier whom he sent for that purpose. The count replied, that Sir Hudson Lowe had the power to take away his servant, but that he could not compel him (Las Cases) to receive another. That it would certainly be an inconvenience to lose his servant in the present state of ill health of his son; but that if he were taken away, he would not accept one of Sir Hudson Lowe's choosing. Captain Poppleton wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, stating the count's disinclination; and I informed him, that the man he had sent to replace the count's servant, had formerly been employed at Longwood, and turned away for drunkenness. Sir Hudson then desired me to tell Poppleton, that the former servant might remain until he could find one that would answer, adding, that he would look out himself for a proper subject, which he also desired me to tell the count. Informed him that it was my intention to call in Mr. Baxter, to have the benefit of his advice in the case of young Las Cases, which presented some alarming appearances.

Communicated to Count Las Cases the message I was charged with by Sir Hudson Lowe. The count replied, "if the governor had told me that he did not wish my servant to remain with me, or that he would be glad if I sent him away, and that he would give me a fortnight to look out for another, I would immediately have dismissed him, and most probably have asked the governor to send me another; but acting in the manner he has done, without saying a word to me, I will take no servant from his hands. He treats me as a corporal would do. The admiral, even if displeased with me, never would have taken my servant away out of revenge."

Dined at Plantation House in company with the Marquis Montchenu, who amused the company with the importance which he attached to *grande naissance*, relative to which he recounted some anecdotes.

16*th*.—The Adamant transport arrived from the Cape, bringing news of the arrival of Sir George Cockburn in England, and that he had had an audience with the Prince Regent on the 2nd of August.

An inspector of police named Rainsford arrived from England and the Cape.

17*th*.—The allowances for Longwood diminished by order of Sir Hudson Lowe two pounds of meat daily, in consequence of the departure of a servant, who had received but one pound. A bottle of wine also struck off.

The carters who bring up the provisions, state that the foul linen of Longwood is frequently inspected by Sir Thomas Reade on its arrival in town. Countess Bertrand sent down in the trunk containing her soiled linen, some novels which she had borrowed from Miss Chesborough, before the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe on the island. They were placed on the top of the linen, and the trunk was unlocked. Sir Thomas Reade said, that it was a violation of the proclamation, and that Miss Chesborough should be turned off the island. He then examined the countess's linen, upon which he made observations not consistent with the delicacy or the respect due to the female sex.

Mentioned to the emperor that I had been informed he had saved Maréchal Duroc's life during his first campaigns in Italy, when seized and condemned to death as an emigrant; which was asserted to have been the cause of the great attachment subsequently displayed by Duroc to him until the hour of his death. Napoleon looked surprised, and replied, "No such thing—who told you that tale?" I said that I had heard the Marquis Montchenu repeat it at a public dinner. "There is not a word of truth in it," replied Napoleon. "I took Duroc out of the artillery train when he was a boy, and protected him until his death. But I suppose Montchenu said this, because Duroc was of an old family, which in that booby's eyes is the only source of merit. He despises every body who has not as many hundred years of nobility to boast of as himself. It was such as Montchenu who were the chief cause of the revolution. Before it, such a man as Bertrand, who is worth an army of Montchenu's, could not even be a *sous-lieutenant*, while *vieux enfans* like him would be generals. God help," continued he, "the nation that is governed by such. In my time, most of the generals, of whose deeds France is so proud, sprung from that very class of plebeians so much despised by him. It surprises me," added he, "that they have permitted the Duchess of Reggio to be *première dame* to the Duchess of Berri, as her husband was once a private soldier, and did not spring from *grande naissance*." I asked his opinion of the Duke of Reggio. "A brave man," replied Napoleon, "*Ma di poca testa*. He has been influenced latterly by his young wife, who is of an old family, whose vanity and prejudices she inherits. However," continued he, "he offered his services after my return from Elba, and took the oath of allegiance to me." I asked him if he thought that he was sincere. "It might have been so, *signor medico*. If I had succeeded, I dare say he would have been."

Napoleon very busily employed in dictating his memoirs to Counts Bertrand and Montholon.

Sir Hudson Lowe objected to allowing the produce of the last plate which had been disposed of to be placed at the disposal of the French, alleging that it was too large a sum, viz. 295*l*., and demanded an explanation of the manner in which so *large* a sum of money was to be disposed of. It appeared upon examination, that instead of having 295*l*. disposable, there would be in reality only a few pounds, as 85*l*. was due to Marchand, 45*l*. to Cipriani, 16*l*. to Gentilini, for money advanced by them to purchase extra articles of food, previous to the sale of the last plate: also 70*l.* to Mr. Balcombe's concern, 10*l.* to Le Page, and 20*l.* to Archambaud, for fowls, &c.

22nd.—Orders sent up by Sir Hudson Lowe for a fresh reduction in the allowance of meat and wine.

Saw Baron Sturmer in the town, with whom I had some conversation. He was very desirous of seeing Napoleon, and informed me that Sir Hudson Lowe, in granting the commissioners permission to enter as far as the inner gate of Longwood, had required them to pledge their honour that they would not speak to Napoleon, without having first obtained his permission.

23rd.—Sir Pulteney Malcolm arrived from the Cape. Napoleon very anxious to obtain some newspapers. Tried to procure some, but was informed that the governor had got all that were to be had.

25th.—On my return from town to Longwood, met Sir Hudson Lowe, who was riding up and down the road. When I came near to his excellency, he observed, with an air of triumph, "You will meet your friend Las Cases in custody." A few minutes afterwards, met the count, under charge of the governor's aid-de-camp, Prichard, on his way to Hut's Gate. It had been effected in the following manner: About three o'clock, Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by Sir Thomas

Reade, Major Gorrequer, and three dragoons, entered Longwood. Shortly afterwards, Captain Blakeney and the minister of police followed them. Sir Hudson and Major Gorrequer rode off a little to the left, while the others proceeded to Captain Poppleton's room, having first ordered a corporal and party from the guard to follow them up to the house. Sir Thomas ordered Captain Poppleton to send for Count Las Cases, who was with Napoleon. After they had waited a short time, Las Cases came out, and was arrested while going into his room by Reade and the minister of police, who took possession of his clothes and effects. His papers were sealed up by his son, who afterwards proceeded to Hut's Gate under custody, where he remained with his father in charge of an officer of the 66th regiment, with orders not to be allowed to see any body, except the governor and his staff. It appeared that the count had given a letter, written upon silk, to Scott his servant, with which he was to proceed to England. Scott told this to his father, who had him brought to a Mr. Barker, and from thence to the governor, by whom, after undergoing an examination, he was committed to prison.

Saw Napoleon in the evening, who appeared to have been wholly ignorant of Las Cases' intentions. "I am convinced," said he, "however, that there is nothing of consequence in the letter, as

Las Cases is an honest man, and too much attached to me to undertake any thing of consequence without first having acquainted me with his project. You may depend upon it that it is some letter of complaints to *Miledi* about the conduct of this governor, and the vexations which he inflicts upon us, or to his banker, as he has four or five thousand pounds in some banker's hands in London, which I was to have had for my necessities, and he did not like his letter to go through the governor's hands, as none of us will trust him. If Las Cases had made his project known to me, I would have stopped him; not that I disapprove of his endeavouring to make our situation known, on the contrary; but I disapprove of the bungling manner in which he attempted it. For a man of talent, like Las Cases, to make an ambassador of a slave, who could not read or write, to go upon a *six months* embassy to England, where he never has been, knows nobody, and who, unless the governor was a *scioccone*, would not be permitted to leave the island, is to me incomprehensible. I can only account for it by supposing, that the weight of afflictions which presses upon us, together with the melancholy situation of his son, condemned to die of an incurable malady, have impaired his judgment. All this I wish to be known. I am sorry for it, because people will accuse me of having been privy to the plan, and will have a poor opinion of my understanding; supposing me to have consented to so shallow a plot. I would have recommended him to have requested of some man of honour to make our situation known in England, and to have taken a letter to the Prince Regent; first asking him to pledge his honour to observe secrecy if he did not choose to perform it. If he betrayed us, so much the worse for himself. Las Cases has with him my campaigns in Italy, and all the official correspondence between the admiral, governor, and Longwood; and I am told that he has made a journal, containing an account of what passes here, with many anecdotes of myself. I have desired Bertrand to go to Plantation House and ask for them. It is the least interesting part of my life, as it only relates the commencement of it; but I should not like this governor to have it.

"I am sure," continued he, "that there is nothing of consequence in Las Cases' letter, or he would have made me acquainted with it; although I dare say this **** will write a hundred falsehoods to England about it. When in Paris, after my return from Elba, I found in M. Blacas's private papers, which he left behind when he ran away from the Thuilleries, a letter which had been written in Elba by one of my sister Pauline's chamber-maids, and appeared to have been composed in a moment of anger. Pauline is very handsome and graceful. There was a description of her habits, of her dress, her wardrobe, and of every thing that she liked; of how fond I was of contributing to her happiness; and that I had superintended the furnishing of her *boudoir* myself; what an extraordinary man I was; that one night I had burnt my finger dreadfully, and had merely poured a bottle of ink over it, without appearing to regard the pain, and many little *bétises* true enough perhaps. This letter M. Blacas had got interpolated with horrid stories; in fact, insinuating that I slept with my sister; and in the margin, in the hand-writing of the interpolator, was written '*to be printed.*'"

26th.—Napoleon in his bath. Asked if I had heard any thing more respecting Las Cases; professed his sorrow to lose him. "Las Cases," said he, "is the only one of the French who can speak English well, or explain it to my satisfaction. I cannot now read an English newspaper. Madame Bertrand understands English perfectly; but you know one cannot trouble a lady. Las Cases was necessary to me. Ask the admiral to interest himself for that poor man, who, I am convinced, has not said as much as there was in Montholon's letter. He will die under all these afflictions, for he has no bodily strength, and his unfortunate son will finish his existence a little sooner."

He asked if Madame Bertrand had not been unwell, and said he believed she suspected that her mother was either dead or most alarmingly ill. "Those creoles," said he, "are very susceptible. Josephine was subject to nervous attacks when in affliction. She was really an amiable woman—elegant, charming, and affable. *Era la dama la più graziosa di Francia.* She was the goddess of the toilet, all the fashions originated with her; every thing she put on appeared elegant; and she was so kind, so humane—she was the best woman in France."

He then spoke about the distress prevailing in England, and said, that it was caused by the abuses of the ministry. "You have done wonders," said he; "you have effected impossibilities, I may say; but I think that England, encumbered with a national debt, which will take forty years of peace and commerce to pay off, may be compared to a man who has drunk large quantities of brandy to give him courage and strength; but afterwards weakened by the stimulus which had imparted energy for the moment, he totters and finally falls; his powers entirely exhausted by the unnatural means used to excite them."

Some conversation then took place relative to the battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon said, that prior to the battle, the king of Prussia had signed the coalition against him. "Haugwitz," said he, "came to inform me of it, and advised me to think of peace. I replied, 'The event of the battle which is approaching will decide every thing. I think that I shall gain it, and if so, I will dictate such a peace as answers my purposes. *Now* I will hear nothing.' The event answered my expectation: I gained a victory so decisive, as to enable me to dictate what terms I pleased." I asked him if Haugwitz had been gained by him? He replied, "No; but he was of opinion that Prussia should never play the first fiddle *(giuocare il primo ruolo)* in the affairs of the continent; that she was only a second-rate power, and ought to act as such. Even if I had lost the battle, I expected that Prussia would not cordially join the allies, as it would naturally be her interest to preserve an equilibrium in Europe, which would not result from her joining those who, on my being defeated, would be much the strongest. Besides, jealousies and suspicions would arise, and the allies would not have trusted to the king of Prussia, who had betrayed them before. I gave Hanover to the Prussians," continued he, "on purpose to embroil them with you, produce a war, and shut you out from the continent. The king of Prussia was blockhead enough to believe that he could keep Hanover, and still remain at peace with you. Like a madman, he made war upon me afterwards, induced by the queen and prince Louis, with some other young men, who persuaded him that

Prussia was strong enough, even without Russia. A few weeks convinced him of the contrary." I asked him what he would have done if the king of Prussia had joined the allies with his army previous to the battle of Austerlitz? "Ah, Mr. Doctor, that would have entirely altered the face of things."

He eulogized the king of Saxony, who he said was a truly good man; the king of Bavaria, a plain good man; the king of Wirtemberg, a man of considerable talent, but unprincipled and wicked. "Alexander and the latter," said he, "are the only sovereigns in Europe possessed of talents. Lord ****, *un mauvais sujet, un agioteur.* While negociating in Paris, he sent couriers away every day to London, for the purposes of stock-jobbing, which was solely what he interested himself about. Had there been an honest man, instead of an intriguing stock-jobber, it is very likely the negociation would have succeeded. I was much grieved afterwards to have had any affairs with such a contemptible character." This was pronounced with an air of disdain.

27*th.*—Napoleon very much concerned about the treatment which Las Cases had suffered, and the detention of his own papers. He observed, that if there had been any plot in Las Cases' letter, the governor could have perceived it in ten minutes' perusal. That in a few moments he could also see that the campaigns of Italy, &c. contained nothing treasonable; and that it was contrary to all law to detain papers belonging to him (Napoleon). " Perhaps," said he, " he will come up here some day and say that he has received intimation that a plot to effect my escape is in agitation. What guarantee have I, that when I have nearly finished my history, he will not seize the whole of it? It is true that I can keep my manuscripts in my own room, and with a couple of brace of pistols I can despatch the first who enters. I must burn the whole of what I have written. It served as an amusement to me in this dismal abode, and might perhaps have been interesting to the world, but with this *sbirro Siciliano* there is no guarantee nor security. He violates every law, and tramples under foot decency, politeness, and the common forms of society. He came up with a savage joy beaming from his eyes, because he had an opportunity of insulting and tormenting us. While surrounding the house with his staff, he reminded me of the savages of the South Sea islands, dancing round the prisoners whom they were going to devour. Tell him," continued he, " what I said about his conduct." For fear that I should forget, he repeated his expressions about the savages a second time, and made me say it after him.

Went to Hut's Gate to see Sir Hudson Lowe, who had sent a dragoon for me. On my arrival, his excellency told me that the campaigns of Italy, and the official documents, would be sent to Longwood the following day, and desired me to tell General Bonaparte that all his papers had been kept sacred, and that all his personal ones should be returned. As to Las Cases' journal, he said that he would have some conversation with Count Bertrand concerning it.

I informed his excellency that Napoleon had disclaimed all knowledge of the project which Count Las Cases had formed, and added my own conviction, that until the moment that the letters had been arrested, he was wholly ignorant of his intentions. Sir Hudson replied, that he acquitted him of any knowledge of the matter, which he desired me to tell him, and congratulated himself much on his own discernment in the opinion he had formed of Count Las Cases' servant.

Saw young Las Cases afterwards, who was very unwell. During the time that I was examining him professionally, Sir Thomas Reade remained in the room. On my going out, Sir Thomas said, that "old Las Cases had been so impertinent to the governor, that the latter had ordered that he should not be permitted to see any person, unless in the presence of some of the governor's staff."

On my return, explained to Napoleon the governor's message, and informed him that I had seen part of his papers sealed up. When I said that the governor had acquitted him of any participation in the business; "if," said he, "I had known of it, and had not put a stop to it, I should have been worse than a *pazzo da catena.* I suppose he thinks there was some plot for my escape. I can safely say that I left Elba with eight hundred men, and arrived at Paris, through France, without any other plot than that of knowing the sentiments of the French nation."

He then sent for St. Denis, who had copied Las Cases' journal, and asked him the nature of it. St. Denis replied that it was a journal of every thing remarkable that had taken place since the embarkation on board of the Bellerophon; and contained divers anecdotes of different persons, of Sir George Cockburn, &c. "How is he treated?" says Napoleon, "*Comme ça, Sire.*" "Has he said that I called him a *requin?*" "Yes, Sire," "Sir George Bingham?" "Very well spoken of, also Colonel Wilks." "Is there any thing to compromise any person?" (naming three or four.) "No, Sire." "Any thing about Admiral Malcolm?" "Yes, Sire." "Does it say that I observed, Behold the countenance of a real Englishman? "Yes, Sire, he is very well treated." "Any thing about the governor?" "A great deal, Sire," replied St. Denis, who could not help smiling, "Does it say that I said, *C'est un homme ignoble,* and that his face was the most *ignoble* I had ever seen?" St. Denis replied in the affirmative, but added, that his expressions were very frequently *moderated.* Napoleon asked if the anecdote of the coffee-cup was in it; St. Denis replied, he did not recollect it. "Does it say that I called him, *sbire Sicilien?*" "*Oui, Sire.*" "*C'est son nom,*" said the emperor.

Napoleon conversed about his brother Joseph, whom he described as being a most excellent character. "His virtues and talents are those of a private character; and for such, nature intended him: he is too good to be a great man. He has no ambition. He is very like me in person, but handsomer. He is extremely well informed." On all occasions I have observed that Napoleon spoke of his brother Joseph in terms of warm affection.

29th.—Having been unwell for some days with a liver complaint, a disease extremely prevalent, and frequently fatal in the island; and finding the symptoms considerably aggravated by the frequent journeys I was obliged to make to town and Plantation House, I felt it necessary to apply to Dr. M'Lean of the 53rd regiment to bleed me very profusely. Before the abstraction of blood was well over, Sir Hudson Lowe came into my apartment. I informed him that Napoleon had said, "what guarantee can I have that he will not come up some day when I have nearly finished my history, and under some pretext, seize it?" which he had desired might be communicated to him. Sir Hudson replied, "The guarantee of his good conduct!"

Shortly afterwards I saw Napoleon in his dressing-room. He was much pleased at having received the campaigns of Italy, and added that he would reclaim the other papers. "This governor," said he, "if he had any delicacy, would not have continued to read a work in which his conduct was depicted in its true light. He must have been little satisfied with the comparisons made between Cockburn and him, especially where it is mentioned that I said the admiral was rough, but incapable of a mean action; but that his successor was capable of every thing that was * * * and * * *. I am glad, however, that he has read it, because he will see the real opinion that we have of him." While he was speaking, my vision became indistinct, every thing appeared to swim before my eyes, and I fell upon the floor in a fainting fit. When I recovered my senses and opened my eyes, the first object which presented itself to my view, I shall never forget: it was the countenance of Napoleon, bending over my face, and regarding me with an expression of great concern and anxiety. With one hand he was opening my shirt-collar, and with the other, holding a bottle *de vinaigre des quatre voleurs* to my nostrils. He had taken off my cravat, and dashed the contents of a bottle of *eau de Cologne* over my face. "When I saw you fall," said he, "I at first thought that your foot had slipped; but seeing you remain without motion, I apprehended that it was a fit of apoplexy; observing, however, that your face was the colour of death, your lips white and without motion, and no evident respiration or bloated countenance, I concluded directly that it was a fit of syncope, or that your soul had departed." Marchand now came into the room, whom he ordered to give me some orange-flower water, which was a favorite remedy of his. When he saw me fall, in his haste he broke the bell riband. He told me that he had lifted me up, placed me in a chair, torn off my cravat, dashed some *eau de Cologne* and water over my face, &c., and asked if he had done right. I informed him that he had done every thing proper, and as a surgeon would have done under similar circumstances; except that instead of allowing me to remain in a recumbent posture, he had placed me in a chair. When I was leaving the room, I heard him tell Marchand in an under-voice to follow me, for fear I should have another fit.

December 1st.—Napoleon, after some inquiries touching my health, and the effects of the mercury upon me, observed that he wished Las Cases to go away, as three or four months stay in St. Helena would be of little utility either to Las Cases or himself. The next," said he, "to be removed under some pretext, will be Montholon, as they see that he is a most useful and consoling friend to me, and that he always endeavours to anticipate my wants. I am less unfortunate than them. I see nobody; they are subject to daily insults and vexations. They cannot speak, they cannot write, they cannot stir out without submitting to degrading restrictions. I am sorry that two months ago they did not all go. I have sufficient force to resist alone against all this tyranny. It is only prolonging their agony to keep them here a few months longer. After they have been taken away, you will be sent off, *et alors le crime sera consommé*. They are subject to every caprice which arbitrary power chooses to inflict, and are not protected by any laws. He is at once *geolier*, governor, accuser, judge, and sometimes executioner; for example, when he seized that East Indian, who was recommended by that *brave homme*, Colonel Skelton, to General Montholon, as a good servant. He came up here and seized the man with his own hands under my windows. He did justice to himself certainly; *le metier d'un sbire lui convient beaucoup mieux que celui de représentant d'une grande nation*. A soldier is better off than they are, as, if he is accused, he must be tried according to known forms before he can be punished. In the worst dungeon in England, a prisoner is not denied printed papers and books. Except obliging me to see him, he has done every thing to annoy me.

"Instead of allowing us to be subject to the caprice of an individual," added he, "there ought to be a council composed of the admiral, Sir George Bingham, and two members of the council, to debate and decide upon the measures necessary to be adopted towards us."

3rd.—Napoleon sent for me at one o'clock, p. m. Found him in bed suffering from headach and general uneasiness, which had been preceded by shiverings. Had a little fever during the night. I recommended some remedies, and pointed out in strong terms the necessity there was of his following my advice, and especially in taking exercise, and my firm conviction, that in the contrary case, he would soon be seized with an alarming fit of illness. "*Tanto meglio,*" replied Napoleon; "*più presto si finirà.*"

4th.—Wrote an account of the state of Napoleon's health, and of the advice which I had given him, to Sir Hudson Lowe. Napoleon somewhat better. Observed that it was impossible for him to follow the recommendation I had given, to take exercise; first, on account of the restrictions, and next, the furious wind, or when that was calmed, the want of shade at Longwood to protect him from the rays of the tropical sun. He gave his opinions about Moreau and others. "Moreau," said he, "was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. With a hundred thousand men, Moreau would divide his army in different positions, covering roads, and would not do more than if he had only thirty thousand. He did not know how to profit either by the number of his troops, or by their positions. Very calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to command in the heat of an action than to make dispositions prior to it. He was often seen smoking his pipe in battle. Moreau was not naturally a man of a bad heart; *Un bon vivant, mais il n'avait pas beaucoup de caractère.* He was led away by his wife and another intriguing Creole. His having joined Pichegru and Georges in the conspiracy, and subsequently having closed his life fighting against his country, will ever disgrace his memory As a general, Moreau was infinitely inferior to Desaix, or to Kleber, or even to Soult. Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory, inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised every thing else. Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasure were valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He was a little black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt up in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs, *the just sultan.* He was intended by nature for a great general. Kleber and Desaix were a loss irreparable to France. Had Kleber lived, your army in Egypt would have perished. Had that imbecile Menou, attacked you on your landing with twenty thousand men, as he might have done, instead of the division Lanusse, your army would have been only a meal for them. You were seventeen or eighteen thousand strong, without cavalry."

"Lasnes, when I first took him by the hand, was an *ignorantaccio.* His education had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. Had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery; cool in the midst of fire;

and possessed of a clear and penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions, sometimes even in my presence; he was ardently attached to me. In the midst of his anger he would not suffer any person to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a choleric mood, it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say, that such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult."

"Massena," said he, "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previous to a battle; and it was not until the dead fell around him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, then Massena was himself; gave his orders, and made his dispositions with the greatest *sang froid* and judgment. This is, *la vera nobiltà di sangue.** It was truly said of Massena, that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often, that if he would discontinue his peculations, I would make him a present of eight hun-

* True nobleness of blood.

dred thousand, or a million of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been soiled with the vice of avarice, he would have been a great man."

"Pichegru," continued Napoleon, "was *répétiteur* at Brienne, and instructed me in mathematics, when I was about ten years old. He possessed considerable knowledge in that science. As a general, Pichegru was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, although he had never done any thing extraordinarily great, as the success of the campaigns in Holland was in a great measure owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers, by throwing them purposely into the enemy's hands, whom he had informed before hand of his intentions. He had a dispute once with Kleber, at a time when, instead of marching his army upon Mayence, as he ought to have done, he marched the greatest part of them to another point, where Kleber observed that it would only be necessary to send the *ambulances* with a few men to make a shew. At that time, it was thought to be imbecility, but afterwards it was discovered to be treachery. One of Pichegru's projects was for Louis to come and join the army under his command, and to cause himself to be proclaimed king. To insure success, he signified to Louis that it was necessary for him to bring a large sum of money; as he said that *Vive le Roi* lay at the bottom of the *gosier*, and that it would require a great quantity of wine to bring it out of the mouth. If Louis had come," continued he, "he would have been shot."

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and observed to me, that General Bonaparte had adopted a very bad mode of procedure, by in a manner declaring war against him (Sir Hudson), when he was the *only* person who had it in his power to render him a service, or to make his situation comfortable. Count Las Cases had, he said, much altered his opinion concerning him since the intercourse they had had together, and no longer looked upon him in the light of an arbitrary tyrant, who did every thing to annoy them; which change of opinion the count had signified to him; and confessed that they had represented every thing to General Bonaparte "*par un voile de sang*."* That I had better try to remove any false impressions under which General Bonaparte might labour. He then asked me if I had ever signified to General Bonaparte that the

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* Sir Hudson Lowe's own words.

French who were with him only wanted to make an instrument of him to aggrandize themselves, without caring by what means they effected it? I replied, that certainly I never had signified any thing of the kind to him; but that I had always laboured to undeceive him, whenever I perceived that he was misinformed. Sir Hudson Lowe said, that the ministers would hold me in some degree accountable, that General Bonaparte was correctly informed of every thing; and that no false colourings, misrepresentations, or malicious constructions were put upon what was done. His excellency then made some remarks upon "General Bonaparte's constantly confining himself to his room," and asked what I supposed would induce him to go out? I replied, an enlargement of his boundaries, taking off some of the restrictions, and giving him a house at the other side of the island. He had frequently complained that he could not walk out at Longwood, without getting a pain in his head from the sun, as there was no shade; or if the rays of the sun were obscured, his cheeks became inflamed; or a catarrh was produced by the sharp wind blowing over an elevated spot without shelter. I observed also, that the allowance of provision was totally insufficient, as the French laid out seven or eight pounds a day in articles which were indispensable; and which I enumerated. Sir Hudson Lowe answered, "that with respect to this last, he had exceeded by one half what was allowed by the ministers, who were answerable to parliament that the expenses of Longwood did not exceed eight thousand pounds per annum, and that perhaps he (Sir Hudson) might be obliged hereafter to pay the surplus out of his own salary. That his instructions were much more rigid than those of his predecessor. But unfortunately General Bonaparte had thought that he had come out furnished with instructions of a much more lenient nature than those of the admiral; when the fact was directly the reverse. That all his actions had been misconstrued and misrepresented, and malicious constructions put upon them. That the British government did not wish to render General Bonaparte's existence miserable, or to torture him. That it was not so much himself (Bonaparte) they were afraid of; but that turbulent and disaffected people in Europe would make use of his name and influence, to excite rebellion and disturbances in France and elsewhere, in order to aggrandize themselves, and otherwise answer their own purposes; also, that Las Cases was very well treated, and wanted for nothing." This he desired I would communicate to General Bonaparte.

I communicated some of those remarks of the governor's to Napoleon, who replied, "I do not believe that he acts according to his instructions; or if he does, he has disgraced himself by accepting a dishonourable employment. A government two thousand leagues off, and ignorant of the localities of the island, can never give orders in detail; they can only give general and discretionary ones. They have only directed him to adopt every measure he may think necessary to prevent my escape. Instead of that, I am treated in a manner dishonourable to humanity. To kill and bury a man is well understood, but this slow torture, this killing in detail, is much less humane than if they ordered me to be shot at once. I have often heard," continued he, "of the tyranny and oppressions practised in your colonies; but I never thought that there could exist such violations of law and of justice, as are practised here. From what I have seen of you English, I think there is not a nation on earth more enslaved; as I told Colonel Wilks, the former governor of this island." Here I observed, that I begged of him not to form his opinion of the English nation by a little colony, placed under peculiar circumstances, and subject to military law; that to judge correctly of England, one must be *there*, and *there* he would see how little a person with a brown, or a black coat, cared about the ministers. "So said the old colonel," replied Napoleon, "but I only speak of you as I have seen you, and I find you to be the greatest slaves upon earth. All trembling with fear at the sight of that governor. There is Sir George Bingham, who is a well disposed man, yet he is so much afraid, that he will not come and see me, through fear that he might give umbrage to the governor: the rest of the officers run away at the sight of us." I observed that it was not fear, but delicacy, which prevented Sir George Bingham from coming, and that as to the other officers, they must obey the orders which they had received. Napoleon replied, "If they were French officers, they would not be afraid of expressing their opinion as to the barbarity of the treatment pursued here; and a French general, second in command, would, if he saw his country dishonoured in the manner yours is, write a complaint of it himself to his government. As to myself," continued he, "I would never make a complaint, if I did not know, that were an inquiry demanded by the nation, your ministers would say, 'he has never complained, and *therefore* he is conscious that he is well treated, and that there are no grounds for it.' Otherwise, I should conceive it degrading to me to utter a word; though I am so disgusted with the conduct of this *sbirro*, that I should, with the greatest pleasure, receive the intimation that orders had arrived to shoot me—I should esteem it a blessing."

I observed that Sir Hudson Lowe had professed himself very desirous to accommodate and arrange matters in an amicable manner. Napoleon replied, "If he wishes to accommodate, let him put things upon the same footing they were during the time of Admiral Cockburn. Let no person be permitted to enter here for the purpose of seeing me, without a letter from Bertrand. If he does not like to give Bertrand liberty to pass people in, let him make out a list himself of such persons in the island as he will allow to visit, and send it to Bertrand, and let the latter have the power to grant them permission to enter, and to write to them. When strangers arrive, in like manner let him make out a list of such as he will permit to see us, and during their stay, let them be allowed to visit with Bertrand's pass. Perhaps I should see very few of them, as it is difficult to distinguish between those who come up to see me as they would a wild boar, and others, who are actuated by motives of respect; but still, I should like to have the privilege. It is for him to accommodate if he likes; he has the power, I have none; I am not governor, I have no places to give away. Let him take off his prohibitions that I shall not quit the high road, or speak to a lady if I meet one. In a few words, *che si comporti bene verso di me,* (let him behave well to me). If he does not choose to treat me like a man, *chè ha giuocato un ruolo nel mondo come quel che ho giuocato io,* let him not treat me worse than a galley-slave or a condemned criminal, as they are not prohibited to speak. Let him do this, and then I will say that he acted at first inconsiderately, through fear of my escaping, but that when he saw his error, he was not ashamed to alter his treatment. Then I will say, that I formed a hasty opinion of him; that I have been mistaken. *Ma siete un bambino, dottore,* (you are a child, doctor); you have too good an opinion of mankind. This man is not sincere. I believe the opinion I first formed of him is correct, that he is a man whose natural badness is increased by suspicion and dread of the responsibility of the situation which he holds, *C'est un homme retors, abject, et tout à fait au-dessous de son emploi.* I would wager my life," continued he, " that if I sent for Sir George Bingham, or the admiral, to ride out with me, before I had gone out three times with either the one or the other, this governor would make some insinuations to them which would render me liable to be affronted, by their refusing to accompany me any longer. He says that Las Cases is well treated, and wants for nothing; because he does not starve him. *C'est un homme vraiment ignoble.* He degrades his own species; he pays no attention to the moral wants which distinguish the man from the brute; he only looks to the physical and grosser ones. Just as if Las Cases were a horse, or an ass, and that a bundle of hay was sufficient to entitle him to say, he is happy; because his belly was full, therefore all his wants were satisfied."

5th.—Had a long conversation with the emperor in his bath. Asked his opinion of the Emperor Alexander, "*C'est un homme extrêmement faux. Un Grec du bas empire,*" replied Napoleon. "He is the only one of the three,* who has any talent. He is plausible, a great dissimulator, very ambitious, and a man who studies to make himself popular. It is his foible to believe himself skilled in the art of war, and he likes nothing so well as to be complimented upon it, although every thing that originated with himself, relative to military operations, was ill-judged and absurd. At Tilsit, Alexander and the King of Prussia used frequently to occupy themselves in contriving dresses for dragoons; debating upon what button the crosses of the orders ought to be hung, and such other fooleries. They fancied themselves on an equality with the best generals in Europe, because they knew how many rows of buttons there were upon a dragoon's jacket. I could scarcely keep from laughing sometimes, when I heard them discussing these *coglionerie* with as much gravity and earnestness as if they were planning an impending action between two hundred thousand men. However, I encouraged them in their arguments as I saw it was their weak point. We rode out every day together. The king of Prussia was *une bête, et nous a tellement ennuyés,* that Alexander and myself frequently galloped away in order to get rid of him."

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* Alexander, Francis, and the king of Prussia.

Napoleon afterwards recounted to me some part of his early life: said, that after having been at school at Brienne, he was sent to Paris, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, "where at the general examination," continued he, "being found to have given the best answers in mathematics, I was appointed to the artillery. After the revolution, about one-third of the artillery officers emigrated, and I became *chef de bataillon* at the siege of Toulon; having been proposed by the artillery officers themselves as the person who, amongst them, possessed the most knowledge of the science. During the siege I commanded the artillery, directed the operations against the town, and took O'Hara prisoner, as I formerly told you. After the siege, I was made commandant of the artillery of the army of Italy, and my plans caused the capture of many considerable fortresses in Piedmont and Italy. Before my return to Paris I was made general, and a command in the army of La Vendée offered to me, which I refused, and replied that such a command was only fit for a general of gendarmerie. On the 13th of Vendemiaire, I commanded the army of the convention in Paris against the sections, whom I defeated after an action of a few minutes. Subsequently I got the command of the army of Italy, where I established my reputation. Nothing," continued he, "has been more simple than my elevation. It was not the result of intrigue or crime. It was owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and because I fought successfully against the enemies of my country. What is most extraordinary, and I believe unparalleled in history, is, that I rose from being a private person to the astonishing height of power I possessed, without having committed a single crime to obtain it. If I were on my deathbed, I could make the same declaration."

I asked if it were true that he was indebted to Barras for employment at Toulon, and if he had ever offered his services to the English. "Both are false," replied Napoleon. "I had no connexion with Barras until after the affair of Toulon. It was to Gasparin, deputy for Orange, and a man of talent, to whom I was chiefly indebted for protection at Toulon, and support against a set of *ignorantacci* sent down by the convention. I never in my life offered my services to England, nor ever intended it. Nor did I ever intend to go to Constantinople: all those accounts *sont des romans.* I passed a short time with Paoli in Corsica, in the year ——, who was very partial to me, and to whom I was then much attached. Paoli espoused the cause of the English faction, and I that of the French, and consequently most of my family were driven away from Corsica. Paoli often patted me on the head, saying, 'you are one of Plutarch's men.' He divined that I should be something extraordinary." Of General Dugommier, he spoke as a personal friend in terms of great affection, describing him to be a brave and intrepid officer, who had judgment enough to carry into execution the plan proposed by him, in opposition to those directed by the committee of public safety.

He spoke about the expedition to Copenhagen, "That expedition," said he, "shewed great energy on the part of your ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed, for in fact it was nothing but a robbery, I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the brave Danish nation irreconcileable enemies to you, and in fact shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers. The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards; while by the expedition your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding."

"During the war with you," said he, "all the intelligence I received from England came through the smugglers. They are terrible people, and have courage and ability to do any thing for money. They had at first a part of Dunkerque allotted to them, to which they were restricted; but as they latterly went out of their limits, committed riots, and insulted every body, I ordered Gravelines to be prepared for their reception, where they had a little camp for their accommodation, beyond which they were not permitted to go. At one time there were upwards of five hundred of them in Dunkerque. I had every information I wanted through them. They brought over newspapers and despatches from the spies that we had in London. They took over spies from France, landed and kept them in their houses for some days, then dispersed them over the country, and brought them back when wanted. The police had in pay a number of French emigrants, who gave constant information of the actions of the Vendean party, Georges, and others, at the time they were preparing to assassinate me. All their movements were made known. Besides, the police had in pay many English spies, some of high quality, amongst whom there were many ladies. There was one lady in particular of very high rank who furnished considerable information, and was sometimes paid so high as three thousand pounds in one month. They came over," continued he, "in boats not broader than this bath. It was really astonishing to see them passing your seventy-four gun ships in defiance." I observed, that they were double spies, and that they brought intelligence from France to the British government. "That is very likely," replied Napoleon. "They brought you newspapers; but I believe, that as spies, they did not convey much intelligence to you. They are *genti terribili*, and did great mischief to your government. They took from France annually forty or fifty millions of silks and brandy. They assisted the French prisoners to escape from England. The relations of Frenchmen, prisoners in your country, were accustomed to go to Dunkerque, and to make a bargain with them to bring over a certain prisoner. All that they wanted was the name, age, and a private token, by means of which the prisoner might repose confidence in them. Generally, in a short time afterwards, they effected it; as, for men like them, they had a great deal of honour in their dealings. They offered several times to bring over Louis and the rest of the Bourbons for a sum of money; but they wanted to stipulate, that if they met with any accident, or interruption to their design, they might be allowed to massacre them. This I would not consent to. Besides, I despised the Bourbons too much, and had no fear of them: indeed, at that time, they were no more thought of in France than the Stuarts were in England. They also offered to bring over Dumourier, Sarrazin, and others, whom they thought I hated, but I held them in too much contempt to take any trouble about them."

This conversation was brought about by my telling him that Lefebvre Desnouettes had arrived at New York, and was with his brother Joseph; when I asked if Lefebvre had not broken his parole in England. Napoleon replied that he had, and then observed, " A great deal has been said about French officers having been employed after having broken their parole in England. Now the fact is, that the English themselves were the first to break their parole at a time when twelve of them ran away. I proposed afterwards to your ministers, that both governments should reciprocally send back every prisoner of whatsoever rank he might be, who had broken his parole and escaped. This they refused to do, and I became indifferent about it. I did not receive at court those who escaped; or encourage them, nor discourage them, after this refusal. Your ministers made a great fuss *(chiasso)* about officers who broke their parole having been employed in my armies, although they refused to agree to the only measure which could put a stop to it, viz. that both sides should send them back immediately; and afterwards had the impudence to attempt to throw all the odium upon me. But you English can never do any wrong."

I asked if he thought that the expedition to Walcheren might, if it had been well conducted, have taken Antwerp? Napoleon replied, "I am of opinion, that if you had landed a few thousand men at first at Williamstadt, and marched directly for Antwerp, that between consternation, want of preparation, and the uncertainty of the number of assailants, you might have taken it by a *coup de main*. But after the fleet had got up it was impossible; as the crews of the ships, united to the national guard, workmen, and others, amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand men. The ships would have been sunk, or taken into the docks, and the crews employed upon the batteries. Besides, Antwerp, though old, is strongly fortified. It is true that Lord Chatham did every thing possible to insure the failure of the object of the expedition; but after the delay of a few days, it would have been impossible for any man to have effected it. You had too many and too few men; too many for a *coup de main*, and too few for a regular siege. The inhabitants were all against you; as they saw clearly that your object was to get possession of the town, to burn and destroy every thing, and then go to your ships and get away. It was a very bad expedition for you. Your ministers were very badly informed about the country. You had afterwards the *bêtise* to remain in that pestilential place, until you lost some thousands of men. *C'était le comble de la bêtise et de l'inhumanité.*[*] I was very glad of it, as I knew that disease would carry you off by thousands, and oblige you to evacuate it without any exertion being made on my part. I sent none but deserters and *mauvais sujets* to garrison it, and gave orders that they should sleep in two frigates I had sent there for that purpose. I also had water conveyed to them at a great expense, but still it was most unhealthy. The general who commanded Flushing," added he, " did not defend it as long as he ought to have done. He had made a large fortune by the smugglers (as there was another depot of them there) and had been guilty of some mal-practices, for which he was afraid of being brought to a court-martial, and I believe was glad to get away."

I asked him if it were true that a Corsican, named Masseria, had been sent with some proposals to him once by our government? Napoleon replied, " Masseria? Yes, I recollect perfectly well that he was brought to me when I was first consul. He was introduced with great mystery and secrecy into my room, when I was in a bath, as I am now. I think he began to speak about some political matters, and to make some insinuations about peace, but I stopped him, as it had been published in the English papers, that he was coming upon some mission to me, which I did not like. Besides, Masseria, though *un bravissimo uomo*, was a great *bavard*. I believe that he was sent by King George himself. He was a republican, and maintained that the death of Charles the First was just and necessary."

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[*] It was the height of idiotism and of inhumanity.

Lady Lowe came up to Longwood, and for the first time paid a visit to Countesses Bertrand and Montholon.

6th.—Napoleon observed to me that the visit of Lady Lowe yesterday appeared to him to be an artifice of her husband, *per gettar la polvere negli occhi* (to throw dust in the eyes); to make people believe that notwithstanding the arrest of Las Cases, the governor was very well at Longwood, and had only done his duty; and that there was no foundation for the reports which had been spread of the ill treatment said to be inflicted upon the inhabitants of Longwood. I informed him that Lady Lowe had been always desirous to call upon Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, and had embraced the first opportunity which presented itself after her accouchement. Napoleon replied, "I am far from thinking that she participates in the designs of her husband, but she has badly chosen the time. At the moment when he treats Las Cases so barbarously and illegally he sends her up. It is either an artifice of her husband's to blind the world, or else he mocks our misfortunes. Nothing is so insulting as to add irony to injury." I observed, that more probably it was a preliminary step of the governor's towards an accommodation. "No," replied Napoleon, "that cannot be. If he really wished to accommodate, the first step would be to take away some of his useless and oppressive restrictions. Yesterday, after his wife had been here, Madame Bertrand and family went out to walk. On their return, they were stopped and seized by the sentinels, who refused to let them in because it was six o'clock. Now, in the name of God, if he had a mind to accommodate, would he continue to prevent us from walking at the only time of the day when, at this season it is agreeable. Tell him," continued Napoleon, "candidly the observations I have made, if he asks you what I thought of the visit."

7th.—Wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe a statement of what Napoleon had informed me on the 4th inst. would be the best mode of effecting an accommodation.

Had a long conversation with Napoleon upon the anatomy of the human body. He desired to see some anatomical plates, which I explained to him. He informed me that at one time he had tried to study anatomy, but that he had been disgusted with the sight and the smell of the subjects. I observed, that plates only served to remind a person of what he had already learned from actual dissection; for which last they could never be entirely substituted. In this Napoleon perfectly agreed with me, and gave me some account of the great encouragement which he had given to the schools of anatomy and surgery; and of the facilities which he had afforded to medical students to learn their profession at a trifling expense.

Heard him express some opinions afterwards relative to a few of the characters who had figured in the revolution. "Robespierre," said he, "though a blood-thirsty monster, was not so bad as Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, Hebert, Fouquier Tinville, and many others. Latterly Robespierre wished to be more moderate; and actually some time before his death said that he was tired of executions, and suggested moderation. When Hebert accused the queen *de contrarier la nature*, Robespierre proposed that he should be denounced, as having made such an improbable accusation purposely to excite a sympathy amongst the people, that they might rise and rescue her. From the beginning of the revolution, Louis had constantly the life of Charles the First before his eyes. The example of Charles, who had come to extremities with the parliament and lost his head, prevented Louis on many occasions from making the defence which he ought to have done against the revolutionists. When brought to trial, he ought merely to have said, that by the laws he could do no wrong, and that his person was sacred. The queen ought to have done the same. It would have had no effect in saving their lives; but they would have died with more dignity. Robespierre was of opinion that the king ought to have been despatched privately. 'What is the use,' said Robespierre, 'of this mockery of forms, when you go to the trial prepared to condemn him to death, whether he deserves it or not.' The queen," added Napoleon, "went to the scaffold with some sensations of joy; and truly it must have been a relief to her to depart from a life in which she was treated with such execrable barbarity. Had I," continued he, "been four or five years older, I have no doubt that I should have been guillotined along with numbers of others."

8th.—Napoleon in a bath.—Conversed at length about the situation of England, which he imputed entirely to the imbecility of Lord Castlereagh. "If," said he, "your ministers had paid attention to the interests of the country, instead of intriguing, they would have rendered you the most happy, and the most flourishing nation in the world. At the conclusion of the war they should have said to the Spanish and Portugueze governments, 'we have saved your country, we alone have supported you, and prevented you from falling a prey to France. We have made many campaigns, and shed our best blood in your cause. We have expended many millions of money, and consequently the country is overburdened with debt on *your* account, which we must pay. You have the means of repaying us. Our situation requires that we should liquidate our debts. We demand, therefore, that we shall be the only nation allowed to trade with South America for twenty years; and that our ships shall have the same privilege as Spanish vessels. In this way we will reimburse ourselves without distressing you.' Who," continued he, " could say *no* to this. France is now nothing. Besides, to tell the truth, it would be only a just demand, and none of the allied powers could deny your right to exact it; for it was through you alone, and the energy which you displayed, that both Spain and Portugal did not fall. You might have asked, ' who saved Portugal? who alone assisted you with men and money, besides having saved your existence as a nation?' In this way you would have had your manufacturers thriving; your sailors employed in your own ships instead of starving, or being forced to seek a livelihood with foreign powers; your *canaille* would have been contented and happy, instead of being obliged to have recourse to subscriptions to keep them from starvation. As it now is, France will soon have the trade of the Brazils; you have in your own colonies more cotton and sugar than you want, and consequently will not take the productions of the Brazils in exchange for your merchandise. Now the French will; for Martinique cannot supply a quantity sufficient for the consumption of France. They will exchange their manufactured goods, silks, furniture, wines, &c. against colonial produce, and soon have the whole trade of the Brazils. In like manner they will have the preference in trading with the Spanish colonies; partly on account of the religion, and also because the Spaniards, like other nations, are jealous of a people all-powerful at sea, and will constantly assist to lessen that power; which is most effectually to be done by lessening your commerce. Another piece of folly in your ministers was the allowing any nation but yourselves to trade with India; particularly the Dutch, who will be your greatest enemies; and probably before twenty years, when France has recovered herself, you will see the Dutch unite with her to humble you. If you had made those demands they must have been granted; and the powers of Europe would not have been more jealous of you than they are now, and always will be, as long as you have absolute power over the seas, and insist upon the right of search, and other articles of your maritime code. You would then have the means of keeping up your maritime empire, which must decay if you have not more commerce than the rest of the world. But your ministers have had false ideas of things. They imagined that they could inundate the continent with your merchandise, and find a ready sale. No, no: the world is now more illuminated.* Even the Russians will say, ‘ why should we enrich this nation, to enable her to keep up a monopoly and tyranny of the seas, while our own manufacturers are numerous and skilful?’ You will,” continued he, “ find that in a few years very little English merchandise will be sold on the continent.† I gave a new era to manufactories. The French already excel you in the manufactory of cloths and many other articles. The Hollanders in cambric and linen. I formed several thousand. I established the *Ecole Polytechnique,* from which hundreds of able chemists went to the different manufactories. In each of them, I caused a person well skilled in chemistry to reside. In consequence, every thing proceeded upon certain and established principles; and they had a reason to give for every part of their operations; instead of the old vague and uncertain mode. Times are changed," continued Napoleon, "and you must no longer look to the continent for the disposal of your manufactures. America, the Spanish and Portuguese main, are the only vent for them. Recollect what I say to you. In a year or two your people will complain, and say, 'we have gained every thing, but we are starving: we are worse than we were during the war.' Then perhaps your ministers will endeavour to effect what they ought to have done at first. You are not able," continued he, "to face even Prussia in the field, and your preponderance on the continent was entirely owing to that naval sovereignty which perhaps you may lose by this military disease of your ministers. England has played for all or for nothing, *(ha giuocato per tutto o per niente).* She has gained all, effected impossibilities, yet has nothing; and her people are starving, and worse than they were during the midst of the war; while France, who has lost every thing, is doing well, and the wants of her people are abundantly supplied. France has got fat, notwithstanding the liberal bleedings which she has had; while England is like a man who has had a false momentary strength given to him by intoxicating liquors, but who, after their effect ceases, sinks into a state of debility."

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* A perusal of the tariff just promulgated by Russia will shew how prophetic this opinion was.

† The whole of this conversation was communicated by me to official persons in London shortly after it took place.

10*th.*—Water very scarce at Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe gave directions that the horses of the establishment should be ridden to water to Hut's Gate, instead of getting it from the tubs that were placed for the use of Napoleon's household. The water in them is extremely muddy, green, and nauseous. In Deadwood it is much more easy to get a bottle of wine than one of water. Parties of the 53d are employed daily in rolling butts of water to their camp. It reminded me of my former residence in Egypt, where we were obliged to buy bad water at an exorbitant rate.

Charles, a mulatto servant, discharged from Longwood. Orders given by Sir Hudson Lowe that he should be sent to his house. Underwent a long interrogation from his excellency as to what he had seen and heard during the time he had been at Longwood. Application made to the governor by the orderly officer to allow a cart for the purpose of bringing water to the establishment, that in the tubs being so very scanty and bad.

Napoleon rather melancholy, and annoyed, that instead of the whole of the campaigns of Italy having been returned by Sir Hudson Lowe, only three or four chapters had been sent. Desired me to tell Sir Hudson Lowe that he supposed he was getting them copied, and that according as they were finished, he would send them back.

11*th.*—Went to Plantation House, and acquainted Sir Hudson Lowe with the message I was charged to deliver to him. His excellency waxed very wroth, and said, " that if General Bonaparte persisted in his belief that the papers had been kept for the purpose of copying; after the assurance to the contrary, which he had yesterday had from young Las Cases; he (Sir Hudson) considered *him unworthy of being treated like a man of honour, and undeserving the consideration due from one gentleman to another*." This he not only repeated twice, but obliged me to insert it in my pocket-book; desiring me not on any account to omit communicating those expressions to General Bonaparte. After having cooled a little, however, his excellency rescinded his directions, gave me some explanations which he desired me to make known to Napoleon, and ordered me to rub out of my pocket-book the obnoxious expressions. He then walked about with me in the library, and said, " that in reference and reply to what I had written to him, General Bonaparte could not be permitted to run about the country. That if the intentions of ministers were only to prevent his escape from the island, a company's governor would have answered as well as any other person; but that there were other objects in view, and material ones, which he had been sent out to fulfil. That there were several strong reasons for not allowing him to communicate in the island. That any man might secure his person by planting sentries about him, but that much more was to be done." When I was about to leave the room, he called me back, and said, "Tell General Bonaparte that it is very fortunate for him that he has so good a man for governor over him; that others, with the instructions I have, would have put him in chains for his conduct." He concluded by desiring me to endeavour to get Sir Thomas Strange introduced to Napoleon.

Cipriani in town, purchasing provisions.

12*th.*—Explained to Napoleon in the least offensive manner I could, the message I had been ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to deliver, with an assurance from the governor, that his papers had been kept sacred; which I observed had been confirmed by a letter from Emanuel de Las Cases, accompanying those that had been returned, testifying that the papers had been respected. That Sir Hudson Lowe had told me, that during the examination of the papers, which took place always in presence of Las Cases, whenever the latter pointed out one as belonging to him, (Napoleon,) it was immediately put aside, without being looked at; and that when the examination was finished, the papers were sealed up with Las Cases' seal, and not opened again, unless in his presence. That Sir Hudson had said, that so far from being instigated by malice or revenge, he had written to the ministry to ameliorate his condition, &c. Napoleon replied, that he did not believe it; no government two thousand leagues off could know the localities so well as to give minute details, they could only give general orders; that no assertion from a man who had told so many falsehoods, could be credited; and that the letter from young Las Cases was not satisfactory, as it merely contained an assurance from Sir Hudson Lowe, that they would be respected. *" As to his instructions," continued he, " I have no doubt that if he has not received written orders to * * *, he has verbal ones, (*a voce*). When it is intended to * * *, it is always commenced by cutting off all communication between him and the world; by enveloping him with mystery and secrecy, in order, that after having accustomed the world to hear nothing about him, ******. Tell him," added he, " my sentiments on the subject."

I then spoke about Sir Thomas Strange, and informed him that Sir Thomas Strange, who had been chief judge in the East Indies, was desirous of paying his respects to him, and that his intended visit did not arise from curiosity, but was a mark of that attention which every person ought to shew towards so great a man, and one who had filled so high a station in the world. Napoleon replied, " I will see no person who does not first go to Bertrand. Persons sent direct by the governor I will not see, as it would have the appearance of obeying a command from him."

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* This reply, *in full,* was communicated by me in writing to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Count Bertrand now came in, and mentioned that the governor was at Longwood, and wanted to see me. Napoleon then said, "If he asks you any questions about my thoughts, tell him that I intend writing a protest to the Prince Regent against his barbarous conduct. That his keeping Las Cases in custody, when there is nothing against him, is illegal. That he ought either to be sent back here, or sent off the island, or tried. That if he wishes to accommodate differences, as he informed you, let him alter his conduct, and put matters upon the footing they were during the time of Admiral Cockburn. As to the visit of the judge, whom he wishes me to see, tell him *que les gens qui sont dans un tombeau ne reçoivent pas de visites*, as he has literally immured me in a tomb. Besides, according to his restrictions, if the judge does not speak French, I cannot employ one of my officers to interpret, for he has prohibited strangers who may visit me from speaking or communicating with any person of my suite, and moreover, I have lost Las Cases."

Count Bertrand desired me to say, that if he saw Sir Thomas Strange, he should be obliged to shew him those parts of the governor's restrictions, signed by himself, in which he had prohibited those who had a pass to see the emperor, from holding any communication with others of his household, unless specially permitted.

Informed Sir Hudson Lowe of what I had been desired, which he said he would communicate to Lord Bathurst. He then observed, "that Count Las Cases had not followed General Bonaparte out of affection, but merely to have an opportunity of obtaining materials from him to publish his life; that General Bonaparte did not know what Las Cases had written, or the expressions which had dropped from him; that he had already collected some very curious materials for his history; that ministers feared that some turbulent, intriguing persons in France, or on the continent, would endeavour to excite rebellion and new wars in Europe, by making use of his (Napoleon's) name to insure their purposes; that General Bonaparte was very lucky in having so good a man as himself to deal with, &c."

He added again, that he could not tell the nature of his orders; that he had an important object to fulfil, independent of the detention of General Bonaparte; and, after some more conversation upon similar subjects, said, that he would give permission to-morrow to Sir Thomas Strange and family to communicate with Bertrand, or with any others of the suite.

Saw Sir Thomas Reade, to whom I mentioned Napoleon's answer relative to the interview which the governor was desirous to obtain for Sir Thomas Strange. Sir Thomas replied, "If I were governor, I'll be d——d if I would not make him feel that he was a prisoner." I observed, "Why you cannot do much more to him than you have already done, unless you put him in irons." "Oh," answered Reade, "If he did not comply with what I wanted, I'll be d——d if I wouldn't take his books from him, which I'll advise the governor to do. He is a d——d outlaw and a prisoner, and the governor has a right to treat him with as much severity as he likes, and nobody has any business to interfere with him in the execution of his duty."

Told Napoleon what his excellency had directed me to communicate. He observed, that the only way to prevent people from making use of his name, in order to excite rebellion, was to put him to death. "That," said he, "is the only effectual mode, and the sooner the better. *Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.*"

"All that he says," continued he, "is *per gettar la polvere,* to deceive the judge, in order that he may say when he arrives in England, that it is my own fault if I do not receive whoever I please. *Un uomo cattivo che ha tutta la scaltrezza Siciliana.*"

13*th.*—A sealed letter from Napoleon to Las Cases given by Count Bertrand to Captain Poppleton, for the purpose of being forwarded through the governor to the count. At six, p. m. a dragoon brought two letters from Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, one returning Napoleon's letter to Count Las Cases, because it was sealed, adding, that he would not forward any sealed letter; and that even if it were open, it would depend upon the nature of the contents, whether it would be forwarded or not; as he (the governor) did not wish that any communication should take place between Longwood and Count Las Cases. In the other, the governor intimated that probably he should not take any steps with respect to Las Cases, until he heard from the British government.

Saw Napoleon, who observed, that he believed nothing good could come from the governor, who was a man of bad lymph. "He ought," continued he, "to have several large blisters applied, to draw away some of that bad lymph from him."

He conversed upon the probability of a revolution in France. "Ere twenty years have elapsed, when I am dead and buried," said he, "you will witness another revolution in France. It is impossible that twenty-nine millions of Frenchmen can live contented under the yoke of sovereigns imposed upon them by foreigners, and against whom they have fought and bled for nearly thirty years. Can you blame the French for not being willing to submit to the yoke of such *animals* as Montchenu? You are very fond in England of making a comparison between the restoration of Charles the Second and that of Louis; but there is not the smallest similitude. Charles was recalled by the mass of the English nation to the throne which his successor afterwards lost for a *mass:* but as to the Bourbons, there is not a village in France which has not lost thirty or forty of the flower of its youth in endeavouring to prevent their return. The sentiments of the nation are,—'*Ce n'est pas nous qui avons ramené ces misérables; non, ceux qui ont ravagé notre pays, qui ont brulé nos maisons, qui ont violé nos femmes et nos filles, les ont mis sur le trône par la force.*'"*

I asked him some questions about the share that Moreau had in Georges' conspiracy. "Moreau," said he, "confessed to his advocate that he had seen and conversed with Georges and Pichegru, and that on his trial he intended to avow it. His counsel, however, dissuaded him from doing so, and observed, that if he confessed having seen Georges, nothing could save him from being condemned to death. Moreau, in an interview with the other two conspirators, insisted that the first step to be taken was to kill me; that when I was disposed of, he should have great power and influence with the army; but that as long as I lived, he could do nothing. When he was arrested, the paper of accusation against him was given to him, in which his crime was stated to be, the having conspired against the life of the first consul and the security of the republic, in complicity with Pichegru and Georges. On reading the names of those two he dropt the paper and fainted."

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* We have not brought back those wretches; no, those who have ravaged our country, burnt our houses, and violated our wives and our daughters, have placed them on the throne by force.

"In the battle before Dresden," said Napoleon, "I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, the centre remained motionless. At the distance of about from this to the outer gate,* I observed a group of persons collected together on horseback. Concluding that they were endeavouring to observe my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called to a captain of artillery who commanded a field battery of eighteen or twenty pieces: '*Jettez une douzaine de boulets à la fois dans ce groupe là, peut-être il y a quelques petits généraux.*' (Throw a dozen of bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it.) It was done instantly. One of the balls struck Moreau, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. Many more, I believe, who were near him, were killed and wounded. A moment before Alexander had been speaking to him. Moreau's legs were amputated not far from the spot. One of his feet, with the boot upon it, which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground, was brought by a peasant to the king of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon-shot. The king, conceiving that the name of the person might perhaps be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau. It is not a little extraordinary," continued Napoleon, "that in an action a short time afterwards, I ordered the same artillery officer, with the same guns, and under nearly similar circumstances, to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another Frenchman, a traitor and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others. Nothing," continued the emperor, "is more destructive than a discharge of a dozen or more guns at once amongst a group of persons. From one or two they may escape; but from a number discharged at a time, it is almost impossible. After Esling, when I had caused my army to go over to the isle of Lobau, there was for some weeks, by common and tacit consent on both sides between the soldiers, not by any agreement between the generals, a cessation of firing, which indeed had produced no benefit, and only killed a few unfortunate sentinels. I rode out every day in different directions. No person was molested on either side. One day, however, riding along with Oudinot, I stopped for a moment upon the edge of the island, which was about eighty toises distant from the opposite bank, where the enemy was. They perceived us, and knowing me by the little hat and grey coat, they pointed a three-pounder at us. The ball passed between Oudinot and me, and was very close to both of us. We put spurs to our horses, and speedily got out of sight. Under the actual circumstances, the attack was little better than murder; but if they had fired a dozen guns at once, they must have killed us."

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* About 500 yards.

Count Bertrand brought back Napoleon's letter to Captain Poppleton, broke the seal before him, and desired that it might be sent in that state to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Some oranges sent to Longwood by the admiral.

14*th.*—Napoleon very unwell. Had passed a very bad night. Found him in bed at eleven, p. m. "Doctor," said he, "I had a nervous attack last night, which kept me continually uneasy and restless, with a severe headach, and involuntary agitations. I was without sense for a few moments. I verily thought and hoped, that a more violent attack would have taken place, which would have carried me off before morning. It seemed as if a fit of apoplexy was coming on. I felt a heaviness and giddiness of my head, (as if it were overloaded with blood,) with a desire to put myself in an upright posture. I felt a heat in my head, and called to those about me to pour some cold water over it, which they did not comprehend for some time. Afterwards, the water felt hot, and I thought it smelt of sulphur, though in reality it was cold." At this time he was in a free perspiration, which I recommended him to encourage, and his headach was much diminished. After I had recommended every thing I thought necessary or advisable, he replied, "*si viverebbe troppo lungamente.*"* He afterwards spoke about funeral rites, and added, that when he died, he would wish that his body might be burned. "It is the best mode," said he, "as then the corpse does not produce any inconvenience; and as to the resurrection, that must be accomplished by a miracle, and it is easy to the being who has it in his power to perform such a miracle as bringing the remains of the bodies together, to also form again the ashes of the dead."

15*th*.—Had a long conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe relative to the affairs of Longwood, and to Napoleon's health. His excellency said, that he supposed it was Count Bertrand who had informed Count Las Cases, that he (Sir Hudson) would send him off the island, if he persisted in writing any more injurious reflections upon the manner that General Bonaparte was treated. That he would hold him (Bertrand) answerable for the consequences. He also observed, that as to the restrictions which had been so much complained of, there was in reality but little difference; that with respect to the prohibition to speak, which General Bonaparte complained of, it was not an *order* to him not to speak, *but merely a request!!!* He also added, that Las Cases had attempted to send a secret accusation against him, which was like stabbing a man in the back, and that they must be conscious they were telling lies, or they would not be afraid to send them to England, through him, as he had offered to forward them. In his conversation with Bertrand he had merely observed, that according to his instructions, he *ought* to have sent Las Cases off the island, in consequence of the letters he had written. His instructions, he said, were of such a nature, that it was impossible to draw a line between some which directed that General Bonaparte should be treated with great indulgence, and others, prescribing regulations and restrictions impossible to be reconciled with the first. That he had in consequence written for further explanations, and had recommended the lessening of the existing restrictions.

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* One would live too long.

16th.—Saw Napoleon, to whom I repeated what the governor had desired. Napoleon replied, "he sent back, and refused to forward a letter of complaints, sent to him by Montholon; he told Bertrand that he would receive no letters in which I was not styled as his government wished; and he sent up by his *chef d'état major*, a paper, menacing with transportation from the island all those who should make reflections upon him or his government; independent of his having given Bertrand clearly to understand, that if Las Cases continued his complaints, he would send him from St. Helena. In orders like his, there must be always some apparent contradiction, and great discretionary powers; but he interprets every thing badly, and where there is a possibility of putting a bad construction upon any part, which would as well admit of a favourable one, he is sure to choose the former. *Un uomo che ha la malizia, ma non l'anima.* Perhaps he sees that he has gone too far, and now wants to saddle the odium of his proceedings upon his government."

18th.—Went along with Mr. Baxter to visit Count Las Cases and son. The Count informed me that the governor had given him permission to return to Longwood, under certain conditions, but that he had not entirely decided what he would do. Young Las Cases said that his father feared he would be looked upon in a slighting manner at Longwood, if he returned, in consequence of the disgraceful manner in which he had been arrested and dragged away by the governor's police.

Informed Napoleon on my return that the governor had offered to allow Las Cases to return to Longwood. After some discussion on the subject, he observed, that he would give no advice to Las Cases about it. If he came back, he would receive him with pleasure; if he went away, he would hear of it with pleasure; but that in the latter case, he should wish to see him once more before he left the island. He added, that since the arrest of Las Cases, he had ordered all his generals to go away; that he should be more independent without them, as then he should not labour under the fear of their suffering ill-treatment by the governor, in order thereby to revenge himself upon him. "I," continued he, "am not afraid that they will send *me* off the island."

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe, who said, that with the exception of certain necessary restrictions, he had orders from government to treat General Bonaparte with all possible indulgence, which he thought he had done. That if some restrictions had been imposed, it was his own fault, and that of Las Cases. That he had been very mild!! This he desired me to communicate. Shortly afterwards he said, that if Count Bertrand had shewn his (Sir Hudson's) restrictions to Sir Thomas Strange, he, the governor, would have been authorized to send him off the island. Nearly in the same breath, he asked if I thought that the interference of Sir George Bingham as an intermediator would be of any service? I replied that probably it might, but as Sir George Bingham did not speak French with sufficient fluency to enter into long discussions or reasonings, I was of opinion that Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm would be a much better intermediator.

Told Napoleon what Sir Hudson Lowe had directed. "Doctor," replied he, "when this man has the audacity to tell *you, who know every thing that has been done*, that he treats me with indulgence; I need not suggest to you what he writes to his government."

Informed me that last night he had suffered another attack similar to that of the 13th, but more violent. "Ali,"* said he, "frightened, threw some *eau de Cologne* in my face, mistaking it for water. This getting into my eyes gave me intolerable pain, and certainly brought me to myself."

Told him what Sir Hudson Lowe had said relative to the intermediation of Sir George Binghim. He replied, "perhaps it might be of some service; but all he has to do is, *che esca del suo ruolo di carceriere e che si metta nel ruolo di galantuomo.*† If any person were to undertake the office of intermediator, the most fit would be the admiral, both because he is independent of Sir Hudson Lowe, and because he is a man with whom I can reason and argue. But," continued he, "*questo governatore è un uomo senza fede.* When your ministry is insincere, wants to shuffle, or has nothing good to execute, a *polisson* like Drake, or Hudson Lowe, is sent out as ambassador, or governor; when it is the contrary, and it wishes to conciliate or treat, such a man as Lord Cornwallis is employed. A Cornwallis here, would be of more avail than all the restrictions that could be imagined." He then observed, that he thought it would be better for Las Cases to return back to Longwood, than either to remain in the island separated from them, or sent to the Cape, and that I might report that I had heard him say so.

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* St. Denis was commonly called Ali.

† This means, "let him conduct himself no longer as a gaoler, but behave like a gentleman."

21*st.*—A letter received from Major Gorrequer, stating that the governor would permit Archambaud to see his brother on the following day, who, with Santini and Rousseau, had arrived in the Orontes frigate from the Cape.*

22*nd.*—Archambaud allowed to see his brother in the presence of one of the governor's agents, but not permitted either to see or converse with any of the others.

23*rd.*—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood; informed him what Napoleon had said about Las Cases. He told me that Las Cases wanted to make *terms*, previous to returning to Longwood, and desired me to "go to Hut's Gate, and tell him what General Bonaparte had said; but not to hold any other communication with him." I mentioned to his excellency the fit of syncope with which Napoleon had been attacked: "It would be lucky," replied Sir Hudson Lowe, "if he went off some of those nights in a fit of the kind." I observed that I thought it very probable he would be attacked with a fit of apoplexy, which would finish him, and that continuing to lead his present mode of life, it was impossible he could remain in health. Sir Hudson asked, what could induce him to take exercise. I replied to moderate the restrictions, and to remove some of which he complained so much. Sir Hudson Lowe made some observations about the danger of allowing a man to get loose who had done such mischief already, and desired me to write him a statement of the health of young Las Cases. I replied that I was going to see him, in company with Mr. Baxter. His excellency observed, that he would go and have some conversation with Count Bertrand on the subjects complained of.

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* This request had been at first refused by Sir Hudson Lowe.

On my return met Sir Hudson Lowe, who appeared in a very bad humour, and said, that Count Bertrand had for a short time spoken very reasonably, but that afterwards he had broken out foolishly about *nótre situation*, just as if it were of any consequence to England, or to Europe, what became of Count Bertrand; or as if it were not *Bonaparte* alone who was looked after,—that he did not know what business he had to couple *his* situation with Bonaparte's.

Mrs. Balcombe and eldest daughter came to see Countess Bertrand. They were desirous of paying a visit to Napoleon and to Countess Montholon, but as their pass specified Count Bertrand's house, and did not mention either of the others, it was not permitted by the orderly officer.

Saw Napoleon afterwards. "This governor," said he, "has been with Bertrand making some proposals, but in such a dark and mysterious manner, that one cannot understand what object he has in view. Every thing he says is destitute of clearness; and when he reluctantly gives the truth, it is enveloped in quibbles and evasions. He had a long *pourparler* about Las Cases, which he concluded by asserting, that *Las Cases was not in prison, and never had been so!—`E un uomo composto d'imbecillità, di bugie, e d'un poco di scaltrezza.* Can Las Cases go out? Can he see any person, either French or English, besides his gaolers? (for seeing a surgeon is nothing). Can he send or receive a letter that does not pass open through their hands? I know not really," continued he, "what this man calls being in prison."

"What a fool I was to give myself up to you," continued he; "I had a mistaken notion of your national character; I had formed a romantic idea of the English. There entered into it also a portion of pride. I disdained to give myself up to any of those sovereigns whose countries I had conquered, and whose capitals I had entered in triumph; and I determined to confide in you, whom I had never vanquished. Doctor, I am well punished for the good opinion I had of you, and for the confidence which I reposed in you, instead of giving myself up to my father-in-law, or to the emperor Alexander, either of whom would have treated me with the greatest respect." I observed, that it was possible that Alexander might have sent him to Siberia; "not at all," replied Napoleon, "setting aside other motives, Alexander would, through policy, and from the desire which he has to make himself popular, have treated me like a king, and I should have had palaces at command. Besides, Alexander is a generous man, and would have taken a pleasure in treating me well; and my father-in-law, though he is an imbecile, is still a religious man, and incapable of committing crimes, or such acts of cruelty as are practised here."

Saw Las Cases and son along with Mr. Baxter. Wrote a letter afterwards to Sir Hudson Lowe respecting the state of health of young Las Cases, and concluded by recommending him to be removed to Europe for the recovery of his health. Mr. Baxter also wrote one of a similar tendency, and one about the count himself, in which he said, that in consequence of his being afflicted with dyspepsia, it was probable that a change to a colder climate would be beneficial, and that that of Europe would be preferable.

25*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Asked many questions in English, which although he pronounced it as he would have done French, yet the words were correct, and applied in their proper meaning.

26*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me. Found him in town. He observed that I had put too much political feeling into my letter respecting young Las Cases: that my opinion must have related to what would have happened had he remained at Longwood; and that it appeared to enter too much into the feelings of *those* people. I replied, that I could not separate my opinion from the cause of his complaints, and that he himself had said, if the state of his son's health absolutely required his removal to Europe, he would not oppose it. Sir Hudson answered, that he had certainly said, that if it *absolutely* required such a measure, he would not oppose it; but that I had entered into a discussion not called for in the letter.

He then spoke about the restrictions, and shewed me a letter which he said he intended to send to Bertrand, and upon which he desired to know my opinion. After reading it, I observed to his excellency that I thought it calculated to produce some severe remarks from Napoleon; as in fact it left matters in nearly the same state as they had been before, after having nominally removed some of the restrictions. On a little reflection, his excellency appeared to be of the same opinion, and said that he would reconsider the matter. In the mean time he authorised me to tell General Bonaparte that several of the restrictions should be removed, especially those relative to speaking; that the limits should be enlarged, and that liberty should be granted to people to visit him, nearly as in former times under the admiral.

Informed Napoleon of this, who replied, that he desired no more than to have matters put as nearly as possible as they were under the admiral. That he thought it right and just if the governor suspected either an inhabitant of the island, or a passenger, or any of them, that he should not allow them to enter Longwood; but that what he (Napoleon) meant was, that the majority of respectable passengers or inhabitants should be allowed to visit him, and not one or two who had been picked out and sent up to

Longwood by the governor, or by his staff, as a keeper of galley-slaves would send a curious traveller to his galleys to see some extraordinary criminal. If," continued he, "I met a man whose conversation pleased me (like the admiral, for example) I should wish to see him again, and perhaps ask him to dinner or breakfast, as was done before this governor's arrival; therefore I wish that a list should be sent in the first place by the governor to Bertrand, containing the names of the persons that he will allow to visit us; and that afterwards, Bertrand shall have the privilege of asking any person again whose name is upon that list. I will never see any one coming up with a pass in which the day is fixed, which is a way of saying, come out this day and exhibit yourself. I want also that our situation may be clearly defined, so that my household shall not be liable to the insults which they have all suffered, and continue to suffer, either from being kept in the dark respecting the restrictions which he imposes, or from misconception of sentinels, or the orders given being of a discretional nature, which may put a sentinel upon his responsibility, and will constitute him an arbitrary judge. The trifling vexations and humiliations which he makes us undergo, are worse to us than the greater. I am willing," continued he, "to listen to accommodation, and not to insist upon too much. But, he has no heart or feeling. He thinks that a man is like a horse, give him a bundle of hay and a roof to cover him, and nothing further is necessary to make him happy. His policy is that of the petty states of Italy; to write and promise fairly, apparently give liberty, but afterwards by insinuations change every thing. His is the policy of insinuations."

I then asked, if the governor consented, and the admiral were satisfied, would he hold a conference with that officer as an intermediator, in order to bring about an arrangement? Napoleon replied, "willingly. With the greatest pleasure I would treat personally with the admiral, and I think that we could settle it in half an hour. I have so much confidence in him, that if the English government would allow it, and the admiral would pledge his word of honour, that no one but himself should know the contents, (unless there was some plot or intrigue against his government,) I would write a letter, putting him in possession of every thing I know relative to my property, in order that I might be able to make use of it. To-morrow," continued he, "I shall let you know whether I am of the like opinion relative to the intermediation. If I continue the same, you shall go to the governor and propose it to him."

A letter sent by Count Bertrand to Sir Hudson

Lowe, requesting that Count Las Cases might be permitted to visit Longwood previous to his departure, to take leave of the emperor.

27th.—Gave Napoleon some newspapers. On looking over them he observed an article about Pozzo di Borgo. "Pozzo di Borgo," said he, "was deputy to the legislative body during the revolution. He is a man of talent, an intriguer, and knows France well. As long as he remains there as ambassador, you may be sure that Alexander does not consider Louis to be firmly seated upon the throne. When you see a Russian nominated as ambassador, you may then conclude that Alexander thinks the Bourbons likely to continue in France."

He then desired me to go to the governor and tell him, "that if he were willing to come to an amicable arrangement, he (Napoleon) thought the best means of effecting it would be to authorize the admiral to act as an intermediator. That if such were done, he had little doubt but matters might be adjusted. That he wished it himself, as he did not like to complain. All he wanted was to live, or in other words, that the restrictions should not be of such a nature as to induce a person to wish for death. That in consequence of what I had said to him, he had ordered Bertrand to discontinue writing a complaint, which he had intended to have sent to Lord Castlereagh for the Prince Regent; and in fact, that he was desirous an accommodation should take place."

Went to town to deliver the above message. Found that the governor had left it before my arrival. Communicated the object of my mission to Sir Thomas Reade, who replied, that he knew the governor would never consent to allow the admiral to act as an intermediator.—There was no use in proposing it. I replied, that as I had been charged with the message, I must deliver it, as perhaps it might lead to good effects.

Went to Plantation House and communicated my message to Sir Hudson Lowe. He said, "that he would accept of the proposal, but that he had previously to decide upon a very delicate point, which might break off any purposed arrangement. That General Bonaparte had asked to see Count Las Cases before his departure, which would do away with the great object he had had in view for a month back, viz. that of cutting off all communication between Longwood and Las Cases. That General Bonaparte might make important and dangerous communications to Las Cases; to obviate which, he would propose that a staff officer should be present at the demanded interview, which it was likely might anger General Bonaparte."

He then wrote the following words on a piece of paper, which he desired me to copy, and to shew the copy :—" The governor is not conscious of ever having wilfully given to General Bonaparte any just cause of offence or disagreement. He has seen with pain misunderstandings arise on points where his duty would not allow him to pursue any other course, and which might have been frequently removed by a single word of explanation.

" Any channel by which he may think such misunderstandings may be removed, the governor is perfectly ready and willing to avail himself of."

Sir Hudson then gave me a large packet for Count Bertrand, containing his answer to the application to see Las Cases, and some explanations relative to the restrictions, some of which he said he was willing should be altered; and that the 5th paragraph of the restrictions delivered in October was merely meant as a *civil* request to General Bonaparte, not to subject himself to the interference of an officer, by entering into long conversations with persons not authorized by the governor to communicate with him. He added, that he would have some conversation with the admiral previous to the latter's going to see Napoleon, for the purpose of entering upon the intermediation.

28*th.*—Napoleon indisposed. Had passed a very uneasy night and had suffered considerably from headach. Saw him at three, p. m. when he was still in bed, and afflicted with severe headach. He had not seen any one. Informed him what Sir Hudson Lowe said respecting the proposed intermediation. I did not like to communicate what his excellency had said about the interview which he had desired to have with Las Cases, as I thought it would both aggravate his illness and tend to impede the desired accommodation. While I was in his bed-room, Marchand came in and informed him that the bath which he had ordered could not be got ready on account of the total want of water at Longwood. However, he appeared well satisfied, and expressed his fear, that if Sir Pulteney came up this day, his indisposition might prevent his seeing and conversing with him. He desired me, therefore, to tell Count Bertrand, in case the admiral came, to take him to his house, shew him the necessary papers, and talk the matter over; adding, that if he found himself well enough, he would send for him, but if not, that he would appoint a future day.

Saw Count Bertrand afterwards, who asked me to explain the meaning of the passage in his excellency's letter in which he attempted to make it appear that the prohibition to Napoleon to speak was a piece of civility. Not having been educated for a special pleader, I felt myself at a loss to afford any explanation sufficient to establish the truth of the governor's doctrine.

Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm came to Longwood and paid a visit to Counts and Countesses Bertrand and Montholon. No communication had been yet made by the governor to Sir Pulteney, who, when informed of the proposal, expressed his ardent wish that something might be done to put things upon a better footing between Napoleon and the governor; adding, that he thought if the matter were left to him, he could arrange it satisfactorily in a very little time. He observed, however, that until the governor authorized him, he would have no conversation on the subject either with Napoleon or with any of his suite.

Saw Napoleon in the evening in his bed-room, along with Marshal Bertrand. The parcel of letters which I had brought from the governor was before him. He had just been informed of his reply to the application that Count Las Cases might be allowed to visit Longwood before his departure. He observed, that "criminals condemned to death, and on the point of being led out to execution, were allowed to bid adieu to their friends, without it being required that a third person should be present." He was very much displeased, and expressed in strong terms his indignation at such barbarous conduct. He then asked me for the governor's reply to the proposal I had made, which I gave him in French and English, having made a translation of it into the former, and also repeated to him what the governor had expressed to me relative to Las Cases. When he came to the words, " where his duty would not allow him," " misunderstanding," &c. " *Tracasserie*," said he, " this is the language he has always held. It is an insult to the human understanding. His intentions could not be mistaken. They were to heap all sorts of useless vexations upon me. I cannot," continued he, " think that he will allow the admiral to act as intermediator. Depend upon it, it is some shuffling trick of his, and that he will never allow it to come to a conclusion." He then dictated a few lines to Count Bertrand, containing a protest against the governor's conduct, which he desired him to write out fair in the next room. He requested me to communicate to the governor the remarks which he had made upon his conduct, and observed, that he hoped the admiral would not commence any proceedings without having first made himself perfectly master of the subject, in order not to allow himself to be *joué* by the governor; who would probably fill him with those falsehoods which he always had at command. " I should be sorry that the admiral," continued he, " should undertake any thing likely to prove abortive, as I have an esteem for him."

Sir Thomas Reade all day in consultation at Plantation House.

29th.—A letter from Sir Hudson Lowe for Count Bertrand arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. Saw Napoleon at two, p. m. Informed me, that as the governor had fourteen or fifteen days ago expressed a wish to know what the French complained of, he had directed Bertrand to send him a copy of his restrictions, with some observations thereupon, that he might think and reflect upon them. Also that he had caused the following remarks to be written upon the back of the memorandum containing the governor's sentiments, which I had delivered to him yesterday, and which he directed me to forward to Sir Hudson Lowe:—

"1. On ne peut justifier la conduite qu'on tient depuis six mois par quelques phrases de la correspondance du ministre. Une longue et volumineuse correspondance ministérielle est un arsenal où il y a des armes à tout tranchant.

"2. Les derniers réglemens seraient considérés à Botany Bay comme injurieux et oppressifs; ils doivent être, quoique l'on en dise, contraires à la volonté du gouvernement Anglais, qui a approuvé les réglemens qui ont été en vigueur jusqu'au mois d'Août dernier.

"3. Toutes les observations que le Comte Bertrand et le Comte de Montholon ont faites ont été inutiles. Une libre discussion leur a été interdite par des ménaces."*

"This governor," said he, "is a man totally unfit to fill the situation he holds. He has a good deal of cunning, but no talent or steadiness. *C'est un homme soupçonneux, astucieux, menteur, double, et plein d'insinuations*, like the Italians of two or three centuries ago. *C'est un excellent familier de l'inquisition. Il mettrait de l'astuce à dire le bon jour. Je crois qu'il en met à manger son déjeuné.* He ought to be sent to Goa. Bertrand wrote that he hoped he would not refuse his consent to a matter of so little consequence as that of permitting Las Cases to come up here. If he refuses, Bertrand will go down to see him along with an officer, which I could not consent to do."

"What can he be afraid of?" continued he, "that I would tell him to write to my wife? He will do that without my direction. That I would tell him my sentiments and intentions? He knows them already. Does he think that Europe is a mine of gunpowder, and Las Cases the spark to blow it up?"

A letter superscribed "in haste," from Sir Hudson, was given to Captain Poppleton, containing one for Count Bertrand, signifying that "in consequence of the manner in which Count Las Cases had been removed from Longwood, the governor could not permit him to take leave of General Bonaparte," &c. Shortly afterwards Count Bertrand and Baron Gourgaud went to town, accompanied by Captain Poppleton, to see and take leave of Count Las Cases. It is difficult to reconcile the conduct pursued towards them there, with the other measures practised by Sir Hudson Lowe, and with the importance which he professed to attach to "*cutting off* all communication with Longwood." At breakfast they were left to themselves, with the exception of Capt. Poppleton, who understands French with difficulty, and not at all when spoken in the quick manner in which Frenchmen usually converse with each other. For some hours they remained together in the large room of the castle, which is about fifty feet by twenty, walking up one side, while Colonel Wynyard and Major Gorrequer, who were to watch them, remained on the opposite side of the room; so that in fact, Las Cases might just as well have been permitted to come to Longwood, and thereby a refusal, which was considered as an insult, would have been spared to Napoleon.

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* The translation will be found in the Appendix, No. VIII.

About three, p. m. Las Cases and his son embarked on board of the Griffon sloop of war, Captain Wright, for the Cape of Good Hope. He was accompanied to the sea-side by Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Thomas Reade, &c. His journal and papers, except a few of no consequence, were detained by the governor. Previous to his departure he made over 4,000*l.* (which he had in a banker's hands in London), for Napoleon's use.

I saw Sir Hudson Lowe on horseback in the street, who called out to me when passing, "your negociation has failed."

About five hundred pounds' worth of plate brought down by Cipriani in the morning to be sold. When Sir Hudson Lowe saw it he sent for Cipriani, from whom he demanded, in what manner they could spend so much money? Cipriani (an arch, intelligent Corsican), replied, "to buy food." His excellency affected surprise, and said, "What, have you not enough?" "We have purchased," said Cipriani, "so many fowls, so much butter, bread, meat, and divers other articles of food daily for some months; and I have to thank your *chef d'état major*, Colonel Reade, for his goodness in not only procuring me many things that I wanted, but for his kindness in seeing that the people did not impose upon me when I was paying for them." Sir Hudson was a little disconcerted at this reply at first; but afterwards resuming an appearance of astonishment, asked, "why do you buy so much butter, or so many fowls?" "Because," replied Cipriani, "the allowance granted by *vostra eccellenza* does not give us enough to eat. You have taken off nearly half of what the admiral allowed us." Cipriani then gave him an account in detail of their wants; explained the difference between the French and English mode of living, and accounted satisfactorily for every thing. Sir Hudson said, that the scheme of allowances had been hastily made out; that he would look into it, and endeavour to increase the quantity of those articles of provisions of which they stood most in need; and that on the next arrival from England he expected a change for the better.

31*st.*—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me at six in the morning. Soon after my arrival he called me into a private room, and in a very solemn manner said, that he had sent for me about a very extraordinary circumstance; that last evening the Baron Sturmer had written a note to Major Gorrequer, stating that General Bonaparte had had a fainting fit, *accompanied by fever!* some time back, and detailing the fact of the *eau de Cologne* having been thrown in his face, and some other circumstances, and begging to know if it were true, as such stories *were good to send to his court.* His excellency said, that he was very much surprised how Baron Sturmer could know that General Bonaparte had experienced a fit, or any of the circumstances attending it; and asked me to whom I had told it? I replied, "I mentioned it to none but yourself, your staff, possibly the admiral, and Baxter, whom I consulted professionally upon the matter; that moreover many of the circumstances detailed in the baron's letter were falsehoods; also that every body at Longwood knew that Napoleon had had a fainting fit on the night he had mentioned, as well as the circumstances which accompanied it." His excellency then gave me some advice about the necessity of secrecy, and desired me to write him a statement of the business, in order that, as it had unfortunately got abroad, he might be able to contradict any incorrect account of it; he supposed the admiral had repeated it to Montchenu or Sturmer.

Saw the admiral in town, who told me that I had not mentioned the circumstance to him, nor had he done so either to Montchenu or Sturmer; but that half the town knew it, which I was soon convinced of by the number of questions put to me by divers persons before leaving it.

Saw Napoleon on my return. "*Veramente,*" said he, laughing, "*vostro governatore è una bestia che non ha senso commune.* His conduct within a few days has proved his incapacity more than ever. He comes up here with an army of staff, just as if he were going to take a town by assault, seizes Las Cases, drags him away, keeps him *au secret* for some weeks; he then offers to allow him to return back. Las Cases is determined to go away. This governor in a most brutal manner refuses to allow him to take leave of me, although at the same time he offers to allow him to return to Longwood until he hears from England; and, to crown the business, he permits Bertrand and Gourgaud to go down and converse with him for hours. Bertrand tells me that they had every opportunity for communication that they could desire, and every facility of informing him of my wishes, and of giving him letters. Ah," continued he, "if all in England were like him, I should not be here now. *C'est un homme borné*, a poor subject. He has a little cunning, and that is all, without any firmness or consistency. He spoke to Cipriani yesterday, to whom he pretended that he did not know we had not enough of provisions, (although his privy counsellor Reade has assisted Cipriani to buy bread and salt for us for some months) and professed his sorrow that the plate had been broken up. *Veramente fa pietà* to see a great nation represented by such a man."

Jan. 1st, 1817.—Saw Napoleon in the drawing-room. Wished him a happy new year. He said he hoped that the succeeding one would find him better situated; and added, laughing, "perhaps I shall be dead, which will be much better. Worse than this cannot be." He was in very good spirits, spoke about hunting the stag and the wild boar. Shewed me the scar of a wound in the inside of the ring-finger, which he told me he had received from a wild boar while hunting, accompanied by the Duke of Dalmatia. Count Montholon came in, to whom Napoleon whispered something; after which he went out, and returned with a snuff-box, which he gave to the emperor, who presented it to me with his own hands, saying, "here, doctor, is a present I make to you for the attention which you manifested towards me during my illness." It is needless to say that a gift from the hands of such a man was received with sensations of pride, and that I endeavoured to express the sentiments which occupied my mind.

Napoleon also made some elegant presents to the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, consisting of some of the beautiful porcelain, unique in the world, presented to him by the city of Paris, with some handsome crapes; to Count Bertrand, a fine set of chess-men; to Count Montholon, a handsome ornament, &c. All the children also were gratified with some elegant gift from him. The weather was so bad and so foggy, that the signal from Deadwood could not be discerned.

2*nd.*—Cipriani in town buying provisions.

3*rd.*—Napoleon had been ill during the night; but felt better. In pretty good spirits. After some conversation, I asked his opinion about Georges. "Georges," said he, "was *una bestia ignorante.* He had courage, and that was all. After the peace with the Chouans I endeavoured to gain him over, as then he would have been useful to me, and I was anxious to calm all parties. I sent for and spoke to him for a long time. His father was a miller, and he was an ignorant fellow himself. I asked him, 'why do you want to restore those Bourbons? If even you were to succeed in placing them upon the throne, you would still be only a miller's son in their eyes. They would hold you in contempt, because you are not of noble birth.' But I found that he had no heart; in fact, that he was *not a Frenchman.* A few days after he went over to London."

4th.—The Spey man of war arrived, and brought the news of the destruction of the Algerine ships, and the treaty which they had been obliged to make.

5th.—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Had a long conversation with him concerning the restrictions. His excellency said that he had no objection to allow General Bonaparte to ride to the left of Hut's Gate, in the direction of Miss Mason's; but that he did not like to grant the same permission to his attendants. I observed, that it would be difficult to draw such a line of distinction, as Napoleon never rode out without being accompanied by two or three of them. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, that he had no objection to their being permitted to ride in that direction when in company with General Bonaparte; but without him, he would not grant it. He then desired me to tell General Bonaparte that *he* might ride in that direction, whenever he pleased, that there would be no impediment to his going. I observed that he had better make Count Bertrand acquainted with it: and also that some notice ought to be given to the sentinel at Hut's Gate, otherwise he would stop him if he attempted to avail himself of the permission. Sir Hudson Lowe replied that the sentinel had no orders to stop him. I said that Generals Montholon and Gourgaud had been stopped several times when going to the alarm-house, although within the limits. The governor replied that this must be a mistake, as the sentinels had no orders to stop them. I observed, that I had been twice stopped myself by the sentinels in that spot. "How can that be," said Sir Hudson, "as the sentinels have orders only *to stop French people?*" I answered, that the sentinel had said, that he had orders to stop *all suspicious people;* and that conceiving me to be one, he had stopped me, for which I could not blame him. His excellency laughed at this, then observed that he would *not* enlarge the limits, that they were fixed; but that he would give *General Bonaparte leave to extend his rides in different directions,* and ordered me to tell him, "that he might ride within the old limits unaccompanied, that no impediment would be opposed."

Saw Napoleon shortly after, to whom I conveyed his excellency's message. He asked me if the picquets had been placed upon the hills as formerly, when he used to ride in that direction. I replied, that I had not observed them. He took out his glass and looked towards the spot for a moment.

Informed Napoleon of the Algerine affair, and gave him a paper which contained the official detail. After reading it he professed great pleasure that those barbarians had been chastised, but observed that the victory we had gained did not alter his opinion, as to the best mode of acting with them. "You might," said he, "have settled it equally well by a blockade. It no doubt reflects great credit upon the English sailors for their bravery and skill; yet still I think that it was hazarding too much. To be sure, you effected a great deal, and got away, because your seamen are so good; but that is an additional reason why you should not run the risk of sacrificing them against such *canaille.* There are no other seamen (except the Americans), who would have done what yours have effected, or perhaps have attempted it. Notwithstanding this, and that you have succeeded, it was madness and an abuse of the navy, to attack batteries elevated above your ships, which you could not injure; to engage red hot balls and shells, and run the hazard of losing a fleet, and so many brave seamen against such *canaille;* independent of the disgrace which it would have been to England to be beaten by the barbarians, which ought to have been the case. If the Algerines had fired upon you in coming down, instead of, like imbeciles, allowing you to take up your position, quietly, and anchor, as if you were going to a review, you would not have succeeded. Suppose the Dey of Algiers had refused to agree to Lord Exmouth's terms the next day, what could he have done? Nothing. Depend upon it, he never would have gone in to attack them a second time with disabled ships, and powder deficient. He would have been obliged to withdraw his fleet, and it would have been a slap in the face for England. Moreover you have taught those wretches what they wanted for the defence of the place."

"If you have struck terror into them, and that the terms you have made," continued he, "be strictly adhered to for the future, you have done a great benefit to humanity, as well as having shewn much maritime skill and bravery; but I do not believe that the Algerines will adhere to the stipulation that prisoners are not to be made slaves. I fear that they will be worse treated than they were before, in consequence of those barbarians not having any hope of ransom; which was the only reason they spared the lives of their captives. But now, having lost the hope of making money by them, they will massacre and throw them overboard, or else mutilate them horribly; for you know that they conceive it to be a meritorious action to destroy heretics."

He spoke in very high terms of Lord Nelson, and indeed attempted to palliate that only stigma to his memory, the execution of Caraccioli; which he attributed entirely to his having been deceived by that wicked woman, Queen Caroline, through Lady Hamilton, and to the influence which the latter had over him.

While conversing with Napoleon, General Gourgaud sent in his name and entered. He communicated some information rather in discordance with the message which the governor had directed me to deliver. It appeared, that while taking a ridé *within* the limits, he was stopped about five o'clock, p. m. by the sentinel at Hut's Gate, and detained, until released by the serjeant commanding the guard. He added, that almost every time he went out, the same thing occurred, the sentinels wishing to screen themselves from any responsibility.

6th.—Communicated this to Sir Hudson Lowe, and brought him a letter from Captain Poppleton on the subject. His excellency denied that the sentinels had ever received any new orders; and that it was the fault of the sentinel.

Cipriani informed me that Pozzo di Borgo was the son of a shepherd in Corsica, who used to bring eggs, milk, and butter to the Bonaparte family. Being a smart boy, he was noticed by Madame Mère, who paid for his schooling. Afterwards, through the interest of the family, he was chosen deputy to the legislative body, as their sons were too young to be elected. He returned to Corsica as *procuratore generale*, where he united himself with Peraldi, an implacable enemy of the Bonapartes, and consequently became one himself.

By the same authority I was informed that Masseria, on his arrival at Paris in order to obtain an interview with Napoleon, had applied to him, (Cipriani), for advice how to accomplish this object, stating that he intended to apply to the Arch Chancellor. Cipriani advised him by no means to do so, as possibly he might be arrested and tried, (being an emigrant,) in which case he must be condemned to death; but to apply to Madame Mère, to whom he was known. Masseria followed his advice, and succeeded in obtaining an interview, although he failed in the attempt to open a negociation. In a subsequent endeavour to obtain another, he received a hint to quit France.

On making inquiry at Hut's Gate, the serjeant commanding the guard shewed a scrap of paper containing the orders to the sentinels, which were "that none of the French, not even Bonaparte himself, were to be permitted to pass that post, unless accompanied by a British officer." The serjeant also said, what indeed was notorious, that Sir Hudson Lowe frequently gave verbal orders himself, not only to the non-commissioned officers of the guard, but sometimes to the sentinels themselves. That those orders might be written down afterwards, or they might not.

Dined with Sir Pulteney Malcolm in town.

7*th*.—Napoleon did not retire to rest until three in the morning, having been employed dictating and writing until that hour. He got up again at five, and went into a warm bath. Eat nothing until seven in the evening, and went to bed before eight.

8*th*.—Had some further conversation concerning the Algerine business. Asked him if it were true that Desaix had, a little before his death, sent a message of the following purport to him. "Tell the first consul that I regret dying before I have done sufficient to make my name known to posterity." Napoleon replied, "it was true," and accompanied it with some warm eulogiums on Desaix. He breakfasted this morning in the English manner, upon a little toast and tea. Weather so foggy that signals could not be passed.

10*th*.—Sir Pulteney Malcolm, accompanied by

Captains Meynel and Wauchope, R. N., came to Longwood, and had an interview with Napoleon. He recounted to the admiral a sketch of his life.

Went to town, and applied to Sir Thomas Reade that permission might be granted to the French to purchase two cows, that a little good milk might be provided for the establishment.

The fog so thick, and the weather so bad, that the signal of *all's well* could not be seen. Orderlies sent to acquaint the governor and admiral.

11*th.*—Weather still very bad.

12*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room. Gave him a newspaper of the 3rd of October, 1816. Had some conversation with him relative to Chateaubriand, Sir Robert Wilson, &c. I observed, that some persons were surprised that he had never written, or caused to be written, an answer to Sir Robert Wilson's work, and to others containing similar assertions. He replied, that it was unnecessary; that they would fall to the ground of themselves; that Sir Robert had already contradicted it, by the answer which he had given in his interrogation, when tried in Paris for having assisted Lavalette in his escape; and that he was convinced Wilson was now sorry for having published what he then had been led to believe was true. That moreover the English, who returned from their travels in France, would return undeceived as to his character, and would undeceive their countrymen.

I asked if he had not been very thin when he was in Egypt. He answered, that he was at that time extremely thin, although possessed of a strong and robust constitution. That he had supported what would have killed most other men. After his thirty-sixth year he began to grow fat.

He told me that he had frequently laboured in state affairs for fifteen hours, without a moment's cessation, or even having taken any nourishment. On one occasion, he had continued at his labours for three days and nights without lying down to sleep.

When Napoleon was rising up from table this day, and in the act of taking his hat off the sideboard, a large rat sprang out of it, and ran between his legs to the surprise of those present.

13*th.*—Made inquiries from the purveyor if credit were given to the establishment on any articles allowed them by government during the week, which had not been consumed, and whether they might be permitted to appropriate the value of such articles as had not been used, to increase the allowance of others, of which they had not a sufficient quantity; or whether the savings so made, were to be credited to government?

The reply was, "any saving made by the establishment upon the English confectionary allowed to them, may be carried to increase the quantity of vegetables allowed; but all and every other saving is to be credited to government, and not to the French. That some weeks back, no saving of any description was permitted to be appropriated to increase the allowances in which there might be a deficiency; but after several representations had been made by me during Napoleon's illness, of the deficiency of vegetables, Sir Hudson Lowe had directed, that the value of the confectionary *not* used by them,* might be carried over to increase the allowance of provisions; that a very severe reprimand had been given to the purveyors, in a letter from Major Gorrequer, for having credited the value of the fruit allowed (when none was to be procured on the island), to increase the quantity of vegetables, accompanied by a strict order never to repeat it."

14*th.*—Made inquiries from Brigade Major Harrison, who was stationed at Hut's Gate, if any alteration had been made in the orders, so as to allow Napoleon to pass the picquet at that gate, and to go round by Miss Mason's and Woody Range, *unaccompanied* by a British officer? Major

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* The French rarely used any of the confectionary sent from England, as Piéron, the *chef d'office,* was very superior in his art.

Harrison replied, that no change of orders to that effect had been given, and that if he attempted to pass he would be stopped by the sentinels. He added, that General Gourgaud had asked him the same question yesterday, to whom he had returned a similar answer. Cipriani in town purchasing sheep.

15th.—Saw Napoleon in his bath. He was rather low spirited and thoughtful. Made some observations about the governor's not having kept his word relative to the proposed intermediation through the medium of the admiral.

17th.—Madame Bertrand delivered of a fine boy, at half-past four o'clock. Her accouchement was followed by some dangerous symptoms.

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and asked me "if I had had any conversation with Napoleon touching the admiral since he had seen me?" I replied, that he "appeared much surprised that he (the governor) had not acted upon the proposed intermediation by means of the admiral." Sir Hudson Lowe observed "that he had considered the negociation to be broken off, by General Bonaparte's having sent to him a number of strictures upon the restrictions of October last, written in a violent manner, and containing falsehoods; and by the tenor of the remarks written upon the back of the answer delivered by him to the original proposition. That he was ignorant whether they intended those remarks for his perusal, or to be sent to England. That the frequent use of the word '*emperor*,' in the strictures written by Count Bertrand, was sufficient for him to break off the affair." I replied, that the strictures had merely been sent by Napoleon for his own consideration. His excellency then began to inveigh against Count Las Cases, whom he accused of "having been the cause of much mischief between Bonaparte and himself; said he had asserted in his journal, that Bonaparte had declared, that he abhorred the sight of the British uniform, or of a British officer; that he held both in abomination; and that I had better take an opportunity to tell him this, and add, that I had heard him (the governor) say, that he did not believe that he had ever said so."

Sir Hudson then asked me if "I had informed General Bonaparte, that he was at liberty to ride round by Miss Mason's and Woody Range unaccompanied?" I replied, that I had, but that Major Harrison had asserted the contrary to General Gourgaud and myself. His excellency said, that since that time, permission had been granted, of which he desired me to inform General Bonaparte; as well as of his reasons for not having gone on any further with the proposed intermediation. Also, "that he daily expected good news from

England for the French, and hoped he should be permitted by the English government to render their situation more comfortable."

In the evening, however, his excellency changed his mind, and ordered me " not to communicate any thing to General Bonaparte on the subject of the ride to the left of Hut's Gate, but to mention every thing else he had directed me.

18*th*.—Napoleon sent for me. Complained of severe headach, and made many inquiries concerning Madame Bertrand, about whose state of health he appeared very anxious. I informed him of the real cause of the unpleasant symptoms which had appeared.

Acquainted him with the causes which the governor had assigned yesterday, as his reasons for not having proceeded farther in the proposed intermediation, and the other matters that I was directed to tell him. Napoleon replied, " I never intended to break off the negociation. The observations were sent to him, because he asked for them himself, and desired to know what we complained of. It was never intended as a refusal, nor to be sent to England, as it was only a copy of what I once intended to send. I wished," continued he, " to have had the admiral present at any agreement which might be made, in order to be able to call upon him hereafter as a man of honour and an Englishman, to bear witness to whatever was agreed upon, that the governor might not be able to change the orders and directions, subsequently deny what had been settled, and then say that he had changed nothing. But this governor never intended to call in the admiral. It was all a trick. '*E un uomo senza fede.*" I said that the governor had informed me that he had written to England, and daily expected orders to ameliorate his condition. " He has never written for any such thing," replied Napoleon; " he sees that he has gone too far, and now he awaits the arrival of some ship from England, in order that he may throw the weight and odium of those restrictions upon the ministers, and say that he has written and got them taken off. The ministers have merely given him directions to take every precaution to prevent me from escaping; all the rest is discretional. He treats us as if we were so many peasants, or poor simple creatures, who could be duped by his shallow artifices."

The Adamant arrived from the Cape. A present of some fruit sent by Lady Malcolm to Napoleon. Went to town, and procured some newspapers, which I gave to Napoleon on my return. Assisted in explaining some of the passages to him. Repeated an anecdote which I had heard about his son, at which he laughed much, appeared entertained, and brightened up. Made me repeat it again; asked about Marie Louise, and desired me to endeavour to *see* all the newspapers that arrived, in order, that if I could not procure the loan of them, I should be able to inform him of any thing they might contain relative to his wife and child. "For," added he, "one reason that this governor does not send up a regular series of papers, is to prevent me from seeing any article which he thinks would give me pleasure, especially such as contain some little information about my son or my wife."

19*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me. Proceeded to Plantation House. Communicated to him Napoleon's reply to the message he had charged me to deliver on the 17th, concealing any offensive epithets, and otherwise moderating the manner. Sir Hudson said, "that he had never asked for the observations on the restrictions. That he believed he had asked what they complained of, and that he was glad to know they had not intended to break off the accommodation by sending them."

A little afterwards, however, his excellency began to wax warm, and said, "that the person who had ordered observations to be written couched in such language, and containing lies, could not be actuated by any conciliatory views, and he should take no positive steps in the matter. That he conceived a person's proposing another for a mediator could have no other object in view than to *make some concession or apology*; if such were General Bonaparte's views, he (Sir Hudson) should think it advisable to employ one, and not otherwise." He then asked me, "if such were General Bonaparte's intentions?" I told his excellency, that I could assure him Napoleon had no such intention, nor ever had. Sir Hudson, after some hazardous assertions relative to Napoleon's motives, got up, walked into another room, from whence he returned with a volume of the Quarterly Review, containing an article on Miot's work upon Egypt, which he put into my hands, and with a triumphant laugh pointed out the following passage, which he desired me to read aloud. "He (Bonaparte) understands enough of mankind to dazzle the weak, to dupe the vain, to overawe the timid, and to make the wicked his instruments. But of all beyond this, Bonaparte is grossly and brutally ignorant. Of the strength of patriotism, the enthusiasm of virtue, the fortitude of duty, he knows nothing, and can comprehend nothing." During the time I was reading this, his excellency indulged in bursts of laughter. He afterwards made me observe a definition of the word *caractère* in a posthumous work of Voltaire's, (I think) of which he said General Bonaparte must have been ignorant, or he would not be so fond of using the word.

Subsequently, Sir Hudson Lowe said that "General Bonaparte ought to send the admiral to him." I observed that Sir Pulteney Malcolm would not undertake any office of the kind, unless first spoken to and authorized by him (Sir Hudson) to undertake it. That as he had now the complaints of the French in his possession, he might let the admiral know how far he would agree to their demands; and, by making that officer acquainted with his intentions, the latter would know how to act and what answer to make. Sir Hudson recurred again to the language in which the observations on his restrictions were couched, and after a discussion which continued for some time, gave me a message similar to that which he had done on the 17th, with the addition, "that at the time he had foreseen that the request to see Las Cases, which he could not grant, would probably break off the proposed accommodation." He then told me that I might borrow any books I liked in his library, excepting such as flattered Bonaparte too much. Shortly after he gave me Pillet's libel upon England, Miot's Expedition to Egypt, "*Amours secrètes de Napoleon,*" &c. I asked him if I might lend Pillet to Napoleon. He said, "yes; and tell him that Pillet knows just as much about England as Las Cases." His excellency then took from a shelf a book called "*Les Imposteurs insignes, ou Histoires de plusieurs Hommes de néant de toutes Nations, qui ont usurpé la Qualité d'Em-*

pereur, de Roi, et de Prince,"* put it into my hand, and with a peculiar grin, said, "you had better take General Bonaparte this also. Perhaps he may find some characters in it resembling himself."

20*th.*—Cipriani in town, purchasing meat, butter, and other necessaries. Sir Thomas Reade very active in assisting him to procure them.

21*st.*—Saw Napoleon in the evening. Gave him Pillet's libel, mentioning at the same time, some of the falsehoods contained in it; amongst others the incestuous practices which the wretch who wrote it asserted to be prevalent in England. He appeared surprised and shocked at this, and observed that malice frequently defeated itself. When I mentioned that Pillet had asserted that the French naval officers were more skilful and manœuvred better than the English, he smiled contemptuously, and observed, "truly, they have proved it by the result of their actions."

I then told him that I had got a book entitled "*Amours secrètes de Napoléon Bonaparte,*" but that it was a foolish work. He laughed, and desired me to bring it to him. "It will at least make me laugh," said he. I accordingly brought it. He observed a print in the book which represented him plunging a sword into a balloon, because the manager of it would not let him ascend, and remarked, "It is believed by some that I did what is represented here, and I have heard that it was asserted by persons who knew me well, but it is not true. The circumstance represented really occurred, but the actor was one of the *comité*, a young man of great bravery, of a singular appearance and peculiar manner, always elevated upon his tiptoes, and loving to walk near the brink of precipices."

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* Famous Impostors, or Histories of many pitiful Wretches of low birth of all Nations, who have usurped the office of Emperor, King, or Prince.

Some one came into the room now, to whom he cried "*eh bien, voilà mes amours secrètes.*" He then ran through the book, read out some parts, laughing very heartily, but observed that it was monstrous silly; that they had not even described him to be a wicked man. After having perused a portion of it which I had not read, he shut the book, and returned it, observing that there was not a single word of truth in the anecdotes; that even the names of the greatest number of the females mentioned were unknown to him.

Napoleon sat up until late at night reading Pillet, and I was informed that he was heard repeatedly to burst out into loud fits of laughter.

22nd.—Napoleon employed a considerable portion of the day in dictating his memoirs to Counts

Bertrand and Montholon in the billiard-room, which he has converted into a *cabinet de travail.* Occasionally he amuses himself with collecting the balls together and endeavouring to roll them all into the opposite corner-pocket.

Sir Hudson Lowe sent me up some coffee for Napoleon's own use, which he said was of very good quality, and which he strongly recommended.

23*rd.*—Napoleon in good spirits. Spoke about Pillet's book. Observed that he had no recollection whatever of such a name. "Probably," said he, "Pillet is some person who has been harshly treated by you in the prison-ships *(pontons)*, and has written in a bad humour and full of malice against the English, which is evidently displayed in his work. There is," continued he, "only one statement in the book which I believe to be correct, viz. that relative to the treatment of the prisoners in the *pontons.* It was barbarous on the part of your government to immure a number of poor wretches of soldiers, who had not been accustomed to the sea, on board of ships so many hours every night, without fresh air. There was something horrid," continued he, "in the treatment of the prisoners in England. The very idea of being put on board of a ship, and kept there for several years, has something dreadful in it. Even your seamen hate the idea of being always on board of ships, and run to seek the delights of the shore whenever they can. There was nothing which so much irritated the nations of the continent against you. For your ministers not only heaped Frenchmen in them, but also prisoners of all other nations at war with you. I received so many complaints about the barbarous treatment to which they were subjected in the *pontons*, a treatment so contrary to that practised in France towards the English, that at last I gave orders that all the English prisoners should be put on board of *pontons*, which were to be prepared for that purpose, and to be treated precisely as you treated mine in England. Had I remained in France it would have been carried into execution, and would have had a good effect, for I would have given every liberty and facility to the English so confined to vent their complaints, and your ministry would, in spite of themselves, have been obliged to remove the French from the *pontons*, in order that a similar measure might be adopted towards the English in France."

I observed that the treatment of the French prisoners in England had not been near so bad as was stated by many, especially by Pillet. Napoleon replied, "I have no doubt that the statement is exaggerated; but still they were treated in a most barbarous and oppressive manner. The mere putting of soldiers on board of ships is of itself cruel. Now, in France, all the English were treated well: at least my intentions towards them were good. Some abuses existed doubtless, as there always will under similar circumstances; but that was not my fault. Whenever they came to my knowledge, I always punished the guilty. There was Virion; as soon as I found out his robberies, I gave orders to have him tried, and I would have had him hanged, if, dreading the result, he had not shot himself. Others did the same. It is impossible that any government could have given more lenient directions for the treatment of prisoners of war than those which were issued by me; but I could not help some abuses being practised. I always punished the authors of them when they came to my knowledge. Let the thousands of English prisoners who were in France be asked to state candidly the manner in which they were treated. There are some of them now in this island. When they attempted to escape and were retaken, then indeed they were closely confined; but never were treated in such a barbarous manner as you treated mine in your *pontons*. Your ministers made a great noise about my having employed French prisoners who had broken their parole and escaped. But the prisoners of your nation were the first to set the example to escape, and your ministers employed them afterwards. In retaliation, I of course did the same. I published the names of several

Englishmen who broke their parole previous to the French having done so, and who were afterwards employed by you; nay I did more, I made an offer to your ministers to send back all the French prisoners who had violated their parole from the beginning of the war, provided they would in like manner send back all the English who had done the like. They, however, refused to consent to this. What more could I do? Your ministers made a great outcry about the English travellers that I detained in France; although they themselves had set the example, by seizing upon all the French vessels and persons on board of them, upon whom they could lay their hands, either in their harbours, or at sea, before the declaration of war, and before I had detained the English in France. I said then, if you detain my travellers at sea, where you can do what you like, I will detain yours at land, where I am equally powerful. But after this I offered to release all the English I had seized in France before the declaration of war, provided you would in like manner release the French and their property which you had seized on board of the ships. Your ministers refused."

"Your ministers," continued he, "never publish *all the truth*, unless when they cannot avoid it; or when they know that it will come to the knowledge of the public through other channels;

in other cases, they turn, disguise, or suppress every thing, as best answers their views."

I made some observations relative to the calumnious assertions of Pillet, of the general depravity alleged by him to exist amongst the English ladies, and the horrible assertions he had put forth; and maintained, that in no country was there less reason for supposing that an improper connexion existed between near relations; nor in any country were there to be found females more delicate, or more irreproachable in their mode of life; pointing out to the emperor that it was evident Pillet had kept very low company, by his assertions about *sweethearts*, which I explained was a word in habitual use only amongst chambermaids, low shop-keepers' daughters, and others of a similar rank, although Pillet had the impudence to assert that such a term was in familiar use with young ladies of the first respectability. "True," said Napoleon, "I fancy that he never saw any English women on board of his ship, except *puttane* of the lowest class. He had," continued he, "a fine opportunity truly of learning the manners and customs of the English, confined as he was on board of a *ponton* for seven or eight years. He defeated his own intention; for in some parts he has written so many lies and horrors of the English, that the truth which he has stated in another part will not be credited. His book is like those which have described me as a monster delighting in bloodshed, in crimes and atrocities; that merely to gratify a sanguinary disposition, I drove my carriage over the bodies of the killed and wounded in battle. His book is just as true, and in like manner defeats the intentions of the publisher. I was indeed pleased to see those violent works, as I knew that no person of sense or reasoning would believe them. Those written with an appearance of moderation and impartiality were the only ones I had to fear."

I asked the emperor then if he had ever read Miot's history of the expedition to Egypt. "What, the commissary?" replied he. "I believe Las Cases gave me a copy; moreover it was published in my time." He then desired me to bring the one which I had, that he might compare them. He observed, "Miot was a *polisson,* whom, together with his brother, I raised from the dirt. He says that I threatened him for writing the book, which is a falsehood. I said to his brother once that he might as well not have published untruths. He was a man who had always fear before his eyes. What does he say about the poisoning affair and the shooting at Jaffa?" I replied, that as to the poisoning, Miot declared, he could say no more than that such had been the current report; but that he positively asserted that he (Napoleon) had caused between three and four thousand Turks to be shot, some days after the capture of Jaffa. Napoleon answered, “ It is not true that there were so many. I ordered about a thousand or twelve hundred to be shot, which was done. The reason was, that amongst the garrison of Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, whom I had taken a short time before at El-Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again, or to be found in arms against me for a year. I had caused them to be escorted twelve leagues on their way to Bagdat, by a division of my army. But those Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa, defended it to the last, and cost me a number of brave men to take it, whose lives would have been spared, if the others had not reinforced the garrison of Jaffa. Moreover, before I attacked the town, I sent them a flag of truce. Immediately afterwards we saw the head of the bearer elevated on a pole over the wall. Now if I had spared them again, and sent them away upon their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d’Acre, where they would have played over again the same scene that they have done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, as every general ought to consider himself as their father, and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in number, in consequence of the breach of faith of those wretches; was impossible. Indeed, to have acted otherwise than as I did, would probably have caused the destruction of my whole army. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorize the putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances; independent of the right given to me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks, ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arish, who, in defiance of their capitulation, had been found bearing arms against me, should be selected out and shot. The rest, amounting to a considerable number, were spared. I would," continued he, "do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army under similar circumstances."

"Previous to leaving Jaffa," continued Napoleon, "and after the greatest number of the sick and wounded had been embarked, it was reported to me that there were some men in the hospital so dangerously ill, as not to be able to be moved. I ordered immediately the chiefs of the medical staff to consult together upon what was best to be done, and to give me their opinion on the subject. Accordingly they met, and found that there were seven or eight men so dangerously ill, that they conceived it impossible for them to recover; and also that they could not exist twenty-four or thirty-six hours longer; that moreover, being afflicted with the plague, they would spread that complaint amongst all those who approached them. Some of them, who were sensible, perceiving that they were about to be abandoned, demanded with earnest entreaties to be put to death. Larrey was of opinion that recovery was impossible, and that those poor fellows could not exist many hours; but as they might live long enough to be alive when the Turks entered, and experience the dreadful torments which they were accustomed to inflict upon their prisoners, he thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires, and accelerate their end by a few hours. Desgenettes did not approve of this, and replied, that his profession was to cure the sick, and not to despatch them. Larrey came to me immediately afterwards, informed me of the circumstances, and of what Desgenettes had said; adding, that perhaps Desgenettes was right. 'But,' continued Larrey, 'those men cannot live for more than a few hours, twenty-four, or thirty-six at most; and if you will leave a rear-guard of cavalry, to stay and protect them from advanced parties, it will be sufficient.' Accordingly I ordered four or five hundred cavalry to remain behind, and not to quit the place until all were dead. They did remain, and informed me that all had expired before they had left the town; but I have heard since, that Sydney

Smith found one or two alive, when he entered it. This is the truth of the business. Wilson himself, I dare say, knows now that he was mistaken. Sydney Smith never asserted it. I have no doubt that this story of the poisoning originated in something said by Desgenettes, who was a *bavard*, which was afterwards misconceived or incorrectly repeated. Desgenettes," continued he, " was a good man, and notwithstanding that he had given rise to this story, I was not offended, and had him near my person in different campaigns afterwards. Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been given to them; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue. To leave a few *misérables*, who could not recover, in order that they might be massacred by the Turks with the most dreadful tortures, as was their custom, would, I think, have been cruelty. A general ought to act with his soldiers, as he would wish should be done to himself. Now would not any man under similar circumstances, who had his senses, have preferred dying easily a few hours sooner, rather than expire under the tortures of those barbarians? You have been amongst the Turks, and know what they are; I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and that you were asked which you would prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures of those miscreants, or to have opium administered to you?" I replied, "most undoubtedly I should prefer the latter." "Certainly, so would any man," answered Napoleon: "if my *own son*, (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child,) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough, and strength enough to demand it. But, however, affairs were not so pressing as to prevent me from leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium necessary, I would have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers, (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime,) or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without a parallel? No, no, I never should have done so a second time. Some would have shot me in passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."

"I never," continued Napoleon, "committed a crime in all my political career. At my last hour I can assert that. Had I done so, I should not have been here now. I should have despatched the Bourbons. It only rested with me to give my consent, and they would have ceased to live."

"I have been accused in like manner," continued the emperor, "of having committed such unnecessary crimes as causing Pichegru, Wright, and others to be assassinated. Instead of desiring the death of Wright, I was anxious to bring to light by his testimony, that Pitt had caused assassins to be landed in France, purposely and knowingly to murder me. Wright killed himself, probably that he might not compromise his government. What motive could I have in assassinating Pichegru? A man who was evidently guilty; against whom every proof was ready. No evidence was wanting against him. His condemnation was certain. Perhaps I should have pardoned him. If indeed Moreau had been put to death, then people might have said that I had caused his assassination, and with great apparent justice, for he was the only man I had much reason to fear; and until then, he was judged innocent. He was '*blue*,' like me; Pichegru was '*white*,' known to be in the pay of England, and his death certain." Here Napoleon described the way in which he had been found, and observed, that the very uncommon mode of his death was a proof that he had not been murdered. "There never has been," continued he, "a man who has arrived to the pitch of power to which I have done, without having been sullied by crimes, except myself. An English lord, a relation of the Duke of Bedford, who dined with me at Elba, told me that it was generally believed in England that the Duke d'Enghien had not been tried, but assassinated in prison in the night; and was surprised when I told him that he had had a regular trial, and that the sentence had been published before execution."

I now asked if it were true that Talleyrand had retained a letter written by the Duke d'Enghien to him until two days after the duke's execution? Napoleon's reply was, "It is true; the duke had written a letter, offering his services, and asking a command in the army from me, which that *scelerato,*[*] Talleyrand, did not make known until two days after his execution." I observed that Talleyrand, by his culpable concealment of the letter, was virtually guilty of the death of the duke. "Talleyrand," replied Napoleon, "is a *briccone,* capable of any crime. I," continued he, "caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested in consequence of the Bourbons having landed assassins in France to murder me. I was resolved to let them see that the blood of one of their princes should pay for their attempts, and he was accordingly tried for having borne arms against the republic, found guilty, and shot, according to the existing laws against such a crime."

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[*] Miscreant.

"You will never," added Napoleon, "see the truth represented by your ministers, where France is concerned. Your great Lord Chatham said, speaking of your nation, 'if we deal fairly or justly with France, England will not exist for four-and-twenty hours.'"

After this, I informed the emperor of the message which Sir Hudson Lowe had directed me to deliver. He replied, "I certainly was very much vexed at the refusal to allow Las Cases to come up, as it was an unnecessary cruelty, a vexatious foolery, particularly when he permitted the French generals to go down and converse with him as long as they liked; and I may say without a witness having been present; but I never intended to decline the accommodation, on the contrary. As to the observations upon his restrictions, in the last letter he wrote to Bertrand, he mentioned that he should wish to learn any observations we might have to offer on the subject of the restrictions; and, in consequence, those remarks were sent to let him know what we thought of his conduct, he having pretended that nothing had been changed. But he never intended to avail himself of the intermediation of the admiral. What can be expected from a man who gives false orders?

A man who tells you that he has given directions to sentinels and guards which they deny ever having received; who says, that we have liberty to pass in certain directions; and at the same time orders the sentinels to stop all *suspicious persons*. Now, in the name of God, who can be more suspicious to an English sentinel than a Frenchman, *and above all, myself?* to guard whom is his only business here; and if he does his duty he will assuredly stop every Frenchman he sees." I could not help laughing heartily at the emperor's manner, in which he joined himself, and repeated, "*Un uomo incapace che non ha nessuna fede.*" After which he desired me to endeavour to procure him a catalogue of the books that were in the public library of James Town, and to bring him as many accounts relative to Egypt and the expeditions there, as I could procure.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe in town, to whom I repeated Napoleon's reply. When I came to that part of it which urged, that in his last letter to Bertrand he had stated, that he would be glad to learn any observations, he interrupted me with "Ay, that I would be glad to enter into any further explanation. Yes, I recollect that," but he did not seem to like to dwell on the subject, and observed, that it appeared General Bonaparte's answer was the same as before; and desired me to be sure to tell him that Las Cases knew just as much of England as Pillet.

24th.—Cipriani in town, employed as usual, endeavouring to procure some good articles of viands.

26th.—Napoleon went out of the house, (being the first time since the 20th of November last,) to pay a visit to Countess Bertrand, whom he complimented much upon her beautiful child. "Sire," said the countess, "I have the honour to present to your majesty *le premier Français* who, since your arrival, has entered Longwood without Lord Bathurst's permission."

27th.—Napoleon in his bath. Complained of headach and loss of sleep, which I imputed to his want of exercise; and concluded by strongly recommending him to practise it. He acknowledged the justice of my advice, but did not seem to think that he could follow it.

Informed him that I had a book containing an account of a society named "Philadelphi," which had been formed against him, and expressed my surprise that he had never fallen by the hands of some conspirators. He replied, "No person knew five minutes before I put it into execution, that I intended to go out, or where I should go. For this reason the conspirators were baffled, as they were ignorant where to lay the scene of their enterprize. Shortly after I was made consul, there was a conspiracy formed against me by about fifty persons, the greatest number of whom had once been very much attached to me, and consisted of officers of the army, men of science, painters, and sculptors. They were all stern republicans, their minds were heated; each fancied himself a Brutus, and me a tyrant and another Cæsar. Amongst them was Arena, a countryman of mine, a republican, and a man who had been much attached to me before; but thinking me a tyrant, he determined to get rid of me, imagining that by doing so he should render a service to France. There was also one Ceracchi, another Corsican, and a famous sculptor, who, when I was at Milan, had made a statue of me. He too had been greatly attached to me, but being a fanatical republican, determined to kill me, for which purpose he came to Paris, and begged to have the honour of making another statue for me, alleging, that the first was not sufficiently well executed for so great a man. Though I then knew nothing of the conspiracy which had been formed, I refused to give my consent, as I did not like the trouble of sitting for two or three hours in the same posture for some days, especially as I had sat before to him. This saved my life, his intention being to poniard me whilst I was sitting. In the mean time, they had arranged their plans.

Amongst them there was a captain, who had been a great admirer of me. This man agreed with the rest that it was necessary to overturn the tyrant, but he would not consent that I should be killed, although he strenuously joined in every thing else. All the others, however, differed with him in opinion, and insisted that it was absolutely necessary to despatch me, as the only means of preventing France from being enslaved. That while I lived there would be no chance of freedom. This captain, finding that they were determined to shed my blood, notwithstanding all his arguments and intreaties, gave information of their names and plans. They were to assassinate me on the first night that I went to the theatre, in the passage as I was returning. Every thing was arranged with the police—I went the same evening to the theatre, and actually passed through the conspirators; some of whom I knew by person, and who were armed with poniards under their cloaks in order to despatch me when I was going out. Shortly after my arrival the police seized them all. They were searched and the poniards found upon them. In France a person cannot be found guilty of a conspiracy to murder, unless the instruments of death are found upon him. They were afterwards tried, and some were executed."

I asked several questions about the infernal-machine transaction. Napoleon replied in the following manner. "It was about Christmas time, and great festivities were going on. I was much pressed to go to the opera. I had been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found myself sleepy and tired. I threw myself on a sofa in my wife's saloon and fell asleep. Josephine came down some time after, awoke me, and insisted that I should go to the theatre. She was an excellent woman, and wished me to do every thing to ingratiate myself with the people. You know that when women take a thing into their heads, they will go through with it, and you must gratify them. Well, I got up, much against my inclination, and went in my carriage, accompanied by Lasnes and Bessières. I was so drowsy that I fell asleep in the coach. I was asleep when the explosion took place, and I recollect, when I awoke, experiencing a sensation as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contrivers of this were a man named St. Regent, Imolan, a *religious* man, who has since gone to America and turned priest, and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel resembling that with which water is supplied through the streets of Paris, with this exception, that the barrel was put cross-ways. This he filled with gunpowder, and placed it and himself nearly in the turning of the street through which I was to pass. What saved me was, that my wife's carriage was the same in appearance as mine, and there was a guard of fifteen men to each. Imolan did not know which I was in, and indeed was not certain that I should be in either of them. In order to ascertain this, he stepped forward to look into the carriage, and assure himself of my presence. One of my guards, a great tall strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man stopping up the way and staring into the carriage, rode up, and gave him a kick with his great boot, crying, 'get out of the way, *pekin*,' which knocked him down. Before he could get up, the carriage had passed a little on. Imolan being confused I suppose by his fall, and by his intentions, not perceiving that the carriage had passed, ran to the cart and exploded his machine between the two carriages. It killed the horse of one of my guards and wounded the rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty or fifty *badauds*, who were gazing to see me pass. The police collected together all the remnants of the cart and the machine, and invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces were recognized by several. One said, I made this, another that, and all agreed that they had sold them to two men, who by their accent were *Bas Brêtons;* but nothing more could be ascertained. Shortly after, the hackney coachmen and others of that description gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées to Cesar, my coachman, thinking that he had saved my life by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was drunk at the time. It was the guardsman who saved it by knocking the fellow down. Possibly, my coachman may have assisted by driving furiously round the corner, as he was drunk and not afraid of any thing. He was so far gone, that he thought the report of the explosion was that of a salute fired in honour of my visit to the theatre. At this dinner they all took their bottle freely, and drank to Cesar's health. One of them, when he was drunk, said, 'Cesar, I know the men who tried to blow the first consul up the other day. In such a street and such a house (naming them), I saw on that day a cart like a water-cart coming out of a passage, which attracted my attention, as I had never seen one there before. I observed the men and the horse, and should know them again.' The minister of police was sent for, he was interrogated, and brought them to the house which he had mentioned, where they found the measure with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, with some of the powder still adhering to it. A little also was found scattered about. The master of the house, on being questioned, said that there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugglers; that on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed to contain a loading of smuggled goods. He added, that they were *Bas Brêtons,* and that one of them had the appearance of being master over the other two. Having now a description of their persons, every search was made for them, and St. Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed. It was a singular circumstance, that an inspector of police had noticed the cart standing at the corner of the street for a long time, and had ordered the person who was with it to drive it away; but he made some excuse, and said that there was plenty of room, and the other seeing what he thought to be a water-cart, with a miserable horse, not worth twenty francs, did not suspect any mischief."

"At Schoenbrunn," continued the emperor, "I had a narrow escape. Shortly after the capture of Vienna, I reviewed my troops at Schoenbrunn. A young man about eighteen years of age presented himself to me. He came so close at one time as to touch me, and said that he wanted to speak to me. Berthier, who did not like to see me disturbed then, pushed him to one side, saying, 'if you want to say any thing to the emperor, you cannot do it now.' He then called Rapp, who was a German, and said, 'here is a young man who wishes to speak to the emperor, see what he wants and do not let him annoy the emperor;'

after which he called the young man, and told him that Rapp spoke German, and would answer him. Rapp went up to him, and asked him what he wanted? He replied, that he had a memorial to give to the emperor. Rapp told him that I was busy, and that he could not speak to me then. He had his hand in his breast all this time, as if he had some paper in it to give to me. Finding that notwithstanding his refusal, he insisted upon seeing me, and was pushing on, Rapp, who is a violent man, gave him a blow of his fist, and knocked him down, or shoved him away to some distance. He came again afterwards, when the troops were passing. Rapp, who watched him, ordered some of the guards to seize and keep him in custody until after the review, and then bring him to his quarters, that he might learn what he complained of. The guards observing that he always kept his right hand in his breast, made him draw it out, and examined him. Under his coat they found a knife as long as my arm. When asked what he intended to do with it, he replied instantly, 'to kill the emperor.' Some short time afterwards he was brought before me. I asked him what he wanted? He replied, 'to kill you.' I asked him what I had done to him to make him desire to take away my life? He answered, that I had done a great deal of mischief to his country; that I had desolated and ruined it by the war which I had waged against it. I inquired of him why he did not kill the Emperor of Austria instead of me, as *he* was the cause of the war and not I? He replied, 'Oh, he is a blockhead, and if he were killed, another like him would be put upon the throne; but if you were dead, it would not be easy to find such another.' He said that he had been called upon by God to kill me, and quoted Judith and Holofernes. Spoke much about religion, and fancied that he was another Judith and I a Holofernes. He cited several parts of the Testament, which he thought appropriate to his projects. He was the son of a Protestant clergyman at Erfurth. He had not made his father privy to his design, and had left his house without money. I believe that he had sold his watch to purchase the knife with which he intended to kill me. He said that he trusted in God to find him the means to effect it. I called Corvisart, ordered him to feel his pulse, and see if he were mad. He did so, and every thing was calm. I desired him to be taken away and locked up in a room with a *gendarme*, to have no sort of food for twenty-four hours, but as much cold water as he liked. I wished to give him time to cool and reflect, and then to examine him when his stomach was empty, and at a time when he might not be supposed to be under the influence of any thing that would heat or exalt his imagination. After the twenty-four hours were expired, I sent for him and asked, 'if I were to pardon you, would you make another attempt upon my life?' He hesitated for a long time, and at last, but with great difficulty, said that he would not, as then it would not appear to be the intention of God that he should kill me, otherwise he would have allowed him to have done it at first. I ordered him to be taken away. It was my intention at first to have pardoned him; but it was represented to me, that his hesitation after twenty-four hours fasting, was a certain sign that his intentions were bad, and that he still intended to assassinate; that he was an enthusiast, a fanatic, and that it would set a very bad example. Nothing," continued he, "is more dangerous than one of those religious enthusiasts. They always aim either at God or the King. He was left to his fate."

"Another time," proceeded the emperor, "a letter was sent to me by the King of Saxony, containing information that a certain person was to leave Stutgard on a particular day for Paris, where he would probably arrive on a day that was pointed out. That his intentions were to murder me. A minute description of his person was also given. The police took its measures; and on the day pointed out he arrived. They had him watched. He was seen to enter my chapel, to which I had gone on the celebration of some festival. He was arrested and examined. He confessed his intentions, and said, that when the people knelt down, on the elevation of the host, he saw me gazing at the fine women; at first he intended to advance and fire at me (in fact he had advanced near to me at the moment); but upon a little reflection, thought that would not be sure enough, and he determined to stab me with a knife which he had brought for that purpose. I did not like to have him executed, and ordered that he should be kept in prison. When I was no longer at the head of affairs, this man, who had been detained in prison for seven months after I left Paris, and ill-treated, I believe, got his liberty. Soon after, he said that his designs were no longer to kill me; but that he would murder the King of Prussia for having ill-treated the Saxons and Saxony. On my return from Elba I was to be present at the opening of the legislative body, which was to be done with great state and ceremony. When I went to open the chamber, this same man, who had got in, fell down by some accident, and a parcel, containing some chemical preparation, exploded in his pocket, and wounded him severely. It never has been clearly ascertained what his intentions were at this time. It caused great alarm amongst the legislative body, and he was arrested. I have since heard that he threw himself into the Seine."

I then asked Napoleon if he had really intended to invade England, and if so, what were his plans? He replied, "I would have headed it myself. I had given orders for two fleets to proceed to the West Indies. Instead of remaining there, they were merely to shew themselves amongst the islands, and return directly to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol, take the ships out, proceed to Brest, where there were about forty sail of the line, unite and sail to the Channel, where they would not have met with any thing strong enough to engage them, and clear it of all English men-of-war. By false intelligence, adroitly managed, I calculated that you would have sent squadrons to the East and West Indies and Mediterranean in search of my fleets. Before they could return, I would have had the command of the Channel for two months, as I should have had about seventy sail of the line, besides frigates. I would have hastened over my flotilla with two hundred thousand men, landed as near Chatham as possible, and proceeded direct to London, where I calculated to arrive in four days from the time of my landing. I would have proclaimed a republic, (I was first consul then) the abolition of the nobility and house of peers, the distribution of the property of such of the latter as opposed me amongst my partizans, liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people. I would have allowed the

House of Commons to remain; but would have introduced a great reform. I would have published a proclamation, declaring that we came as friends to the English, and to free the nation from a corrupt and flagitious aristocracy, and restore a popular form of government, a democracy; all which would have been confirmed by the conduct of my army, as I would not have allowed the slightest outrage to be committed by my troops. Marauding or ill-treating the inhabitants, or the most trifling infringement of my orders, I would have punished with instant death. I think," continued he, "that with my promises, together with what I would actually have effected, I should have had the support of a great many. In a large city like London, where there are so many *canaille* and so many disaffected, I should have been joined by a formidable body. I would at the same time have excited an insurrection in Ireland." I observed that his army would have been destroyed piecemeal, that he would have had a million of men in arms against him in a short time; and moreover, that the English would have burnt London, rather than have suffered it to fall into his hands. "No, no," said Napoleon, "I do not believe it. You are too rich and too fond of money. A nation will not so readily burn its capital. How often have the Parisians sworn to bury themselves under the ruins of their capital, rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the enemies of France, and yet twice it has been taken. There is no knowing what would have happened, Mr. Doctor. Neither Pitt, nor you, nor I, could have foretold what would have been the result. The hope of a change for the better, and of a division of property, would have operated wonderfully amongst the *canaille*, especially that of London. The *canaille* of all rich nations are nearly alike. I would have made such promises as would have had a great effect. What resistance could an undisciplined army make against mine in a country like England, abounding in plains? I considered all you have said; but I calculated on the effect that would be produced by the possession of a great and rich capital, the bank and all your riches, the ships in the river and at Chatham. I expected that I should have had the command of the Channel for two months, by which I should have had supplies of troops; and when your fleet came back, they would have found their capital in the hands of an enemy, and their country overwhelmed by my armies. I would have abolished flogging, and promised your seamen every thing; which would have made a great impression upon their minds. The proclamations stating that we came only as friends, to relieve the English from an obnoxious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was to keep the nation eternally at war, in order to enrich themselves and their families with the blood of the people, together with the proclaiming a republic, the abolition of the monarchical government, and the nobility; the declaration of the forfeiture of the property of such of the latter as should resist, and its division amongst the partizans of the revolution, with a general equalization of property, would have gained me the support of the *canaille*, and of all the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected in the kingdom."

I took the liberty of stating, that on account of France having been lately revolutionized, there was a great division of opinion amongst the French, and consequently not so strong a national spirit, as was to be found amongst the English. That from the late frequent vicissitudes in France, the people contemplated a change of government with less concern than the English would do; that if the English were not to burn the capital, as the Russians had done, in all probability they would have defended it street by street, and his army would have met the fate that our's had experienced at Rosetta and Buenos Ayres. "I believe," replied the emperor, "that there is more national spirit in England than in France; but still, I do not think that you would have burned the capital. If, indeed, you had had some weeks' notice given to you, to enable you to remove your riches, then it is possible that it might have been effected; but you must consider that you would not have had time sufficient to organize a plan; besides, Moscow was built of wood, and it was *not* the inhabitants who set it on fire. They had also time to take their measures. As to defending the town, in the first place I would not have been *bête* enough to have acted as you did at Rosetta; for, before you would have had time to arrange your defence, I should have been at your doors, and the terror of such an army would have paralyzed your exertions. I tell you, *signor dottore*," continued the emperor, "that much can be said on both sides. Having the capital, the capital," repeated he, "in my hands, would have produced a wonderful effect."

"After the treaty of Amiens," said Napoleon, "I would also have made a good peace with England. Whatever your ministers may say, I was *always* ready to conclude a peace upon terms equally advantageous to both. I proposed to form a commercial treaty, by which, for a million of English manufactured or colonial produce taken by France, England should take the value of a million of French goods in return. This was thought a heinous crime by your ministers, who reprobated in the most violent manner my presumption in having made such a proposal. I would both have made and have kept a fair peace; but your ministers always refused to make one on equal terms, and then wished to persuade the world that I was the violator of the treaty of Amiens."

I asked who were the persons that had employed the contrivers of the infernal machine. "It is certain," replied Napoleon, "that they were employed by the Count d'****, and sent over by Pitt in English ships, and furnished with English money. Although your *** did not actually suborn them, they knew what they were going to execute, and furnished them with the means. I do not believe," continued he, "that Louis was privy to it."

I ventured to ask if he had aimed at universal dominion. "No," replied Napoleon; "my intention was to make France greater than any other nation; but universal dominion I did not aim at. For example, it was not my intention to have passed the Alps. I purposed, when I had a second son, which I had reason to hope for, to have made him king of Italy, with Rome for his capital, uniting all Italy, Naples, and Sicily into one kingdom, and putting Murat out of Naples." I asked if he would have given another kingdom to Murat. "Oh," replied he, "that would have been easily settled."

"If," said he, "I were at the head of affairs in England, I would devise some means of paying off the national debt. I would appropriate to that purpose the whole of the church livings, except a tenth, (always excepting those whose incomes were moderate) in a manner that the salary of the highest amongst the clergy should not exceed eight hundred or a thousand a year. What business have those priests with such enormous incomes? They should follow the directions of Jesus Christ, who ordered that, as pastors to the people, they should set an example of moderation, humanity, virtue, and poverty, instead of wallowing in riches, luxury, and sloth. In Cambray, before the revolution, two-thirds of all lands belonged to the church, and a fourth in most other provinces of France. I would appropriate to a similar purpose all sinecures, except those enjoyed by men who had rendered most eminent services to the state; and, indeed, even those might be rewarded by giving them some office, in which they would be obliged to do something. If you emancipated the Catholics, they would readily pay an immense sum towards liquidating the nation's debt. I cannot conceive," continued he, "why your ministers have not emancipated them. At the time that all nations are emerging from illiberality and intolerance, you retain your disgraceful laws which are only worthy of two or three centuries back. When the Catholic question was first seriously agitated, I would have given fifty millions to be assured that it would not be granted; for it would have entirely ruined my projects upon Ireland; as the Catholics, if you emancipated them, would become as loyal subjects as the Protestants. I would," continued he, "impose a tax of fifty per cent. upon absentees, and perhaps diminish the interest upon the debt."

I made some observations upon the intolerance which had been manifested on some occasions by the Catholics.

"The inability to rise above a certain rank, and to be members of parliament, and other persecutions, once removed from your Catholic brethren," replied he, "you will find that they will be no longer intolerant or fanatical. Fanaticism is always the child of persecution. That intolerance which you complain of, is also the result of your oppressive laws. Remove them once, and put them on a similar footing with the Protestants, and in a few years you will find the spirit of intolerance disappear. Do as I did in France with the Protestants."

"I observed," continued the emperor, "a circumstance in a paper two or three days ago, which I cannot believe, viz. that there was a project in France to make a contract with some English company to furnish iron pipes to supply Paris with water, which had met with the approbation of the French government. This, *imbecilles* as I know the Bourbons to be, appears to me not to be credible, as there are so many thousand manufacturers in France who could execute it equally well. A project so unpopular, and of so destructive a tendency to themselves, could be entertained by none but insane persons. Why, it would excite the rage and hatred of the nation against the Bourbons more than any plan their greatest enemies could suggest, to cause their own ruin, and their expulsion a third time from France. If it takes place and be not followed by some terrible consequences to them," said Napoleon with energy, "I am a blockhead, and will say that I have always been one. Fifty years ago, it would have produced terrible commotion in France."

28*th.*—Cipriani in town purchasing necessaries.

30*th.*—Saw Napoleon in the billiard room. After some expressions of his sentiments upon the hypocrisy of the governor, he directed me to bear the following message to him: "Tell him that in consequence of his conduct in having accepted the proposed intermediation of the admiral, declaring that he would charge the admiral with it, and afterwards doing nothing, I conceive him to be a man *senza parola e senza fede.** That he has broken his word with me, broken a compact which is held sacred by robbers and Bedouin Arabs, but not by the agents of the British ministers. Tell him that when a man has lost his word, he has lost every thing which distinguishes the man from the brute. Tell him that he has forfeited that distinction, and that I hold him to be inferior to the robber of the desert. Independent," continued he, "of his conduct with respect to the admiral, he has broken his word about the limits. He charged you to inform me that we were permitted to ride any where through the old bounds, and specifically named the path by Miss Mason's. Now Gourgaud went a few days ago and asked the question from the major at Hut's Gate, who told him that he could not pass, and that no change had been made in the orders by the governor."

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* Without word and without faith.

I now informed the emperor, "that since the time he alluded to, Sir Hudson Lowe had given directions to allow him, (Napoleon,) and any of his suite, to pass by the road leading to Miss Mason's, but that they could not pass, unless accompanied by him." Napoleon replied, "then it is an unjust order, and beyond his power to give. For by the paper which those generals have signed, by order of his government, they bind themselves to undergo such restrictions as it may be thought necessary to impose upon *me*, and not any more. Now this is a restriction not imposed upon me, and consequently cannot be inflicted upon them, and is illegal."

Napoleon directed me to say in addition, that he had foreseen all along, that the governor's having accepted of the offer for an intermediation by means of the admiral, was a mere trick to gain time, and to prevent a complaint from being sent home by the Orontes frigate. That in consequence of the offer having been accepted by Sir Hudson Lowe, Count Bertrand had discontinued writing a complaint, intended to have been submitted to the Prince Regent and the government. That although it might have failed in producing any redress, still it would be satisfactory to know that the present ill treatment suffered by him, was the act and order of the government, and not that of an inferior officer.

Went to town to deliver this message. On my arrival found that Sir Hudson Lowe had left it. Conceiving that Napoleon might alter his mind, and finding that the Julia had arrived, bringing news from England, I did not proceed to Plantation House. Got some newspapers and returned to Longwood. Found Napoleon in a warm bath. His legs were swelled. On my recommending exercise, he said that he had some idea of asking the admiral to ride out with him, but was afraid that it might get him into a scrape with the governor.

In one of the papers, there was a report that the sovereignty of Spanish South America had been offered to his brother Joseph. "Joseph," said he, "although he has *beaucoup de talent, et d'esprit,* is too good a man, and too fond of amusements and literature, to be a king. However, it would be of great advantage to England, as you would have all the commerce of Spanish America. Joseph would not, and indeed could not trade with either France or Spain, for evident reasons; and South America cannot do without importing immense quantities of European goods. By having me in your hands, you could always make advantageous terms with Joseph, who loves me sincerely, and would do any thing for me."

31*st.*—Went to Plantation House, and made known to Sir Hudson Lowe the message I was charged with, in as moderate language as circumstances would admit. His excellency replied, that he did not care what complaints General Bonaparte sent to England, and that he had already forwarded his observations upon the restrictions. That he had no objection to receive the admiral upon the business, but he expected that he should come to him first and break the matter. I remarked, that Sir Pulteney Malcolm would certainly not undertake the business, unless first spoken to and authorized by him (Sir Hudson,) and reminded him, that in the first proposition which had been made for the intervention of the admiral, it was expressly mentioned that the latter should be *authorized* by the governor to undertake it. Sir Hudson Lowe denied this. I demanded that a reference should be made to my letter on the subject. On its being produced, Sir Hudson Lowe acknowledged with some expression of discontent that I was right. I then reminded him that he had also said, on the proposition's having been made to him, that he would speak to the admiral himself about it, previous to his attempting to undertake it. The governor at first denied this, and after a long discussion, determined upon giving the following reply: "The governor is employed in writing an answer to the observations of Count Bertrand, and to the paper containing the remarks on his answer to the proposition for the intervention of the admiral; and also in arranging how far his instructions will permit him to accede to General Bonaparte's wishes. When these are finished, he will send them to Count Bertrand, and then, if any other arrangement is deemed necessary, the governor will have no objection to authorize the admiral, or any other person General Bonaparte may think proper, to act as an intermediator, although the intermediation of any person will have no influence whatsoever in inducing the governor to grant more or less than he would do of his own free will and judgment. This, with the alterations already made in the restrictions, and the general tenor of the observations and remarks received from Longwood, since the governor expressed his readiness to employ an intermediator, and the expectation of an arrival from England, has been the cause of the delay in authorizing the admiral to undertake the office."

Sir Hudson desired me to shew this to Napoleon, and at the same time gave me a copy of his own answer to the original proposition, and one of the remarks that had been made upon it by Napoleon, which, together with the tenor of the observations, he desired me to explain, "were of a nature to induce a belief that a refusal had been intended by General Bonaparte."

I then repeated to Sir Hudson Lowe the observations made by Napoleon, on the illegality of his attempting to subject the persons of his suite to more restrictions than what were imposed upon himself; as well as what he had said about Gen. Gourgaud. Sir Hudson replied, "that as governor he had power to grant a favour, and take it away when he pleased; that if he conceded one to General Bonaparte, it did not follow that he was obliged to grant the same to the rest; that they had liberty to go away whenever they pleased, if they did not like their treatment, &c." He also desired me to repeat, that the prohibition to speak was an act of civility, or a friendly sort of warning. I remarked, that I did not think Napoleon would avail himself of the *indulgence*, unless the same were granted to all. His excellency replied, "that he could not think of allowing General Bonaparte's officers to run about the country, telling lies of him (Sir Hudson) as Las Cases and Montholon had done, by having shewn letters to divers persons. That General Bonaparte would be much better, if he had not such liars as Montholon, and such a blubbering, whining son of a b—h as Bertrand about him."

I said, that Napoleon had also remarked, that it was impossible that all the restrictions could have been imposed in obedience to specific instructions from the ministers, as he had of his own power taken some of them off, which, had they been ordered by ministers, he could not have done without having first obtained their sanction, for which there had not been yet sufficient time. His excellency appeared to be taken unawares, as he immediately replied, "They were not ordered by ministers; there were no minute details given, either to me, or to Sir George Cockburn. In fact, it is left entirely to my judgment, and I may take what measures I think proper, and, indeed, do as I like. I have been ordered to take particular care that he does not escape, and to prevent correspondence of any kind with him, except through me. The rest is left to myself."

Admiral and Lady Malcolm, with Captain Meynel, had an interview at Longwood.

February 1*st*.—Informed Napoleon of what I had been directed by Sir Hudson Lowe. Shewed him his excellency's answer to the proposition for intermediation, with his remarks opposite to it. "I maintained, and will maintain," replied the emperor, "that his last restrictions are worse than any in force at Botany Bay, because even there, it is not attempted to prohibit people from speaking. It is useless for him to endeavour to persuade us that we have not been ill-treated by him. We are not simpletons, or ordinary people. There is not a free-born man, whose hair would not stand on end with horror, on reading such an atrocious proceeding as that prohibition against speaking. His assertion, that it was intended as civility, is a mockery, and adds irony and insult to injury. I know well, that if he really intended to grant any thing, it is in his power to do so without a mediator. It was a mark of imbecility in him to have accepted the proposition, but having once accepted it, he ought not to have broken his word. *Qualche volta lo credo un boja, ch'è venuto per assassinarmi, ma è piutosto un uomo incapace, e senza cuore, che non capisce il suo impiego.*"*

A few days ago, Count Bertrand sent a sealed letter to Captain Poppleton, directed to Sir Thomas Reade. As Captain Poppleton had orders to forward all sealed letters to the governor, he sent it to Plantation House, where it was opened by Sir Hudson Lowe, and found to contain an open letter addressed to Bertrand's father, announcing the accouchement of Countess Bertrand, and a note to Sir Thomas, requesting that it might be forwarded to Europe through the usual channels. In the letter were the words, *nous écrivons à M. de la Touche*, &c., to give further information, &c. Sir Hudson Lowe conceived that this meant that they *had written*, and immediately wrote a letter of reprimand to Count Bertrand, which was despatched in haste by an orderly dragoon.

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* Sometimes I believe that he is an executioner, who has come to assassinate me; but most probably he is a man of incapacity and without heart, who does not comprehend his office.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe on the hill above Hut's Gate, to whom I communicated Napoleon's reply. His excellency repeated, that the prohibition to speak, which had been so much complained of, was not an order, but rather a request, and an instance of civility on his (Sir Hudson's) part, in order to prevent the necessity which would otherwise exist, of the interference of a British officer. "Did you tell him that?" said Sir Hudson Lowe. I answered that I had. "Well, what reply did he make?" I gave his reply, which did not appear to please the governor. I subsequently acquainted him that water was so scarce at Longwood, as to make it sometimes impossible to procure a sufficiency for a bath for Napoleon's use, and that it was generally a matter of great difficulty to obtain the necessary quantity. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, "that he did not know what business General Bonaparte had to *stew himself in hot water* for so many hours, and so often, at a time when the 53d regiment could scarcely procure enough of water to cook their victuals."

Napoleon went down to pay a visit to Count and Countess Bertrand, where he remained nearly two hours.

2*nd*.—Napoleon in a bath.—"This governor," said he, "sent a letter two or three days since to Bertrand, which convinces me, that he is composed of imbecility, incapacity, and a little cunning, but that incapacity prevails. He wrote to Bertrand as one would write to a child of eight or ten years of age, demanding, that if he had sent letters to Europe through any other channel than his, he should let him know by whom? He does not understand French. It is a delicacy of the French language, that when you write in the present tense, *j'écris*, for example, it means that it is your positive intention to write, but that you have not yet done it. It is a delicate mode of expression to use the present tense instead of the future. If Bertrand had written, *j'ai écrit*, then, indeed, it would mean that he had positively written; but the other denotes a firm intention and determination of doing what has not yet been executed. He might be excused for not having known the delicacies of a language not his own, if he did not pretend to offer remarks upon them. In his situation, he ought to be like a confessor, forget the contents of letters after having perused them."

"What else but *la rage* to write and to find fault, could have produced such an epistle to Bertrand.* I am told that there is a cook here who had formerly served him, who relates, that he was in the habit of going into the kitchen of Plantation House, and telling the cook, 'you shall cut off so much of this meat and stew it, so much more and roast it,' and in a similar manner with every other dish; and that he was quite at home when he got into the kitchen. Montholon tells me, that a short time ago, when debating about the expenses of the house, he observed that we soiled too many shirts, and that we must not in future shift ourselves so often."

3rd.—Had some conversation with Napoleon relative to the governor's attempt to explain away the prohibition to speak. "I would," said he,

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* Count and Countess Bertrand informed me afterwards, that Sir Thomas Reade had offered his services to the countess for the purpose of forwarding their letters to their friends in Europe through the channel of Lord Bathurst, and had assured them, that sending them to him was precisely the same as if they were transmitted direct to the governor.

"give two millions that those restrictions were signed by the English ministry, in order to shew to Europe, what base, tyrannical, and dishonourable acts they were capable of, and the manner in which they had fulfilled the promises they had made of treating me well. According to law, this governor has no right to impose any restrictions upon me. The bill, illegal and iniquitous as it is, says that I shall be subject to such restrictions as the ministers think fit and necessary, but it does not say that they shall have the power to delegate that authority to any other person. Therefore, every restriction laid upon me, ought not only to be signed by a minister, but properly speaking, by all the ministers assembled."

"It is possible," continued Napoleon, "that part of his bad treatment arises from his imbecility and his fear, for he is a man who has no *morale. Un poco di scaltrezza e molto imbecillità.** It is an injury to his nation, and an indignity and insult to the emperor of Austria, to the emperor of Russia, and to all those sovereigns whom I have conquered and treated with."

"I told *Milédi,*" continued the emperor, "that I had paid your nation a great compliment, and shewed what a high sense I entertained of the English honour, by giving myself up to them, after so many years' war, in preference to my father-in-law, or to my old friend. I told her also that the English would have been my greatest friends, had I remained in France. United, we could have conquered the world. The confidence which I placed in the English shews what an opinion I entertained of them, and what steps I would have taken to have rendered such a nation my friends: and I should have succeeded. There is nothing that I would not have sacrificed to have been in friendship with them. They were the only nation I esteemed. As to the Russians, Austrians, and others," said he, with an expression of contempt, "I had no esteem for them. Now I am sorry to see that I erred in opinion. For had I given myself up to the Emperor of Austria, he, however he might differ with me in politics, and think it necessary to dethrone me, would have embraced me closely as a friend, and have treated me with every kindness. So also would my old friend, the Emperor of Russia. This I told *Milédi;* also that the treatment of the Calabrese to Murat was humanity compared to it, as the Calabrese soon finished Murat's misery, but here, *ils me tuent à coup d'épingles.* I think that your own nation will feel very little obliged to this governor for having conferred upon it a dishonour, which will be recorded in history. For you are proud; and have the honour of your nation more at heart than even your money. Witness the thousands that your *Milords* throw away annually in France and in other parts of the continent, to raise and exalt the English name. Many of your nobility and others would voluntarily have subscribed thousands, to have prevented the stigma which this *imbecille* has brought upon your nation."

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* A little cunning and much imbecility.

4th.—The scarcity of water at Longwood has daily increased, and the greatest part of what has been brought up, sour, turbid, and of a very disagreeable taste, in consequence of having been conveyed in old wine and rum casks, which necessarily communicate a sour and unpleasant taste to the water.

5th.—A complaint made officially by Captain Poppleton to Colonel Wynyard of the state of the water. Cipriani in town employed as usual.

6th.—Lady Lowe paid a visit to Countess Bertrand.

Sir Hudson Lowe had a long conversation with me relative to Napoleon; the purport of which was, that if he put the limits on their old footing, Napoleon should not make a practice of visiting the houses that were situated in them, and at the same time that he (Napoleon) should not know that any restriction existed to prevent him. Informed him of some of the sentiments which had been expressed yesterday by Napoleon. His excellency said, that there was a great difference between limits for exercise and limits for correspondence and communication; that if he gave larger limits, they must be subject to the restriction of not entering a house, unless accompanied by a British officer. I observed that there were only four houses within the limits of Woody Range. Sir Hudson said, that perhaps it might be settled by his giving General Bonaparte a list of such houses as he would permit him to enter. I informed him that Napoleon had said that if he had a mind to intrigue with the commissioners, or with others, he might easily do so by instructing them to meet him within the limits of the alarm-house, which was always in his power to effect; but that he (Napoleon) would never do any thing which had the appearance of an intrigue. Sir Hudson replied, that "General Bonaparte had never been without intriguing, and never would." He then desired me to say, that he daily expected a ship with fresh orders, and permission to grant an extension of limits. That he should have no objection to allow General Bonaparte to enter into certain houses which he (Sir H.) would point out, nor indeed to send a list of them to Count Bertrand.

7th.—Communicated Sir Hudson Lowe's ideas to Napoleon. "If he were to give me the whole of the island, on condition that I would pledge my word not to attempt an escape," replied he, "I would not accept of it, because it would be equivalent to the acknowledging myself a prisoner, although at the same time, I would not make the attempt. I am here by force and not by right. If I had been taken at Waterloo, perhaps I might have had no hesitation in accepting it, although even in that case, it would be contrary to the law of nations, as now there is no war. If they were to offer me permission to reside in England on similar conditions, I would refuse it. I do not understand what he means by correspondence. What is he afraid of? Perhaps the commissioners. The admiral never was afraid of his conduct being published. I hope," continued Napoleon, "that you told him I said that he had not the right to impose any restrictions, unless they were signed by the ministers." I replied, that I had, and that the governor had said that he had it in his power to impose whatever restrictions he thought necessary. "By the bill," replied Napoleon, "he has not the right. By the law of force he can do what he likes, in the same manner as the English parliament have passed a bill to legalize illegality, and to authorize a proscription contrary to the laws of nations, to good faith, and to their own honour. But even in that, it is not allowed to delegate the authority."

After some further observations, Napoleon desired me to communicate to the governor, "that, if he sent a list to Count Bertrand, or told him that within the limits there were two or more houses which he either suspected or was unwilling that I should visit, I shall not enter either them, or those of the commissioners. If he arranges it in this manner, it will be understood, but if he sent a list of all the houses in the island except one, and specified that I might enter all but that one, I would not accept of it. Whereas, on the contrary, if he made another list of every house in the island except one, and said that he did not wish me to go into any of those mentioned in that list, and made no observation about the remaining one, I would sooner accept of it than of the first, although I could go only into one house, whereas by the other, I could enter all on the island excepting one. By availing myself of the first, it would appear like visiting by his permission, whereas the other would seem to be voluntary, as in consequence of nothing having been mentioned, it would be left at my option to go in or not. It would be like a free will. Tell him this," continued he; "although I am sure that it is merely some shuffling trick on his part, and will come to nothing."

"I think," added Napoleon, "that it is owing to some small remains of the influence *of my star*, that the English have treated me so ill; at least that this man whom they have sent out as governor, has conducted himself in such an * * * manner. At least posterity will revenge me."

The meat has been of so bad a quality for some days, that the orderly officer has thought it incumbent upon him to return it, accompanied with official complaints.

8th.—Went to Plantation House, and communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe the purport of the above mentioned conversation. His excellency replied, that by the proposed arrangement, the principal difficulties were removed, and that he would speak to Count Bertrand about it. Cipriani in town endeavouring to procure some good meat.

9th.—Scott, the servant, to whom Count Las Cases had given the letter, released from prison under the following conditions, viz. his father to go security for him, and to forfeit 100*l.* if his son ever went beyond the inclosure of the father's little property.

10th.—Acquainted Napoleon that I had communicated his desires to Sir Hudson Lowe, who had promised to talk the matter over with Count Bertrand. Napoleon replied, "you may depend upon it that it will end in nothing. It is merely to deceive *you*. He will act as he has done in that affair with the admiral."

"Gourgaud," added Napoleon, "is stopped

at Hut's Gate every day. The sentinel cries '*halt*;' then the serjeant comes out, and after a sort of consultation together, says '*pass*.'"

Had some conversation about Alexandria.—"Your ministers," said he, "acted most unwisely in not having retained possession of Alexandria. For if you had kept it *then*, it would now be an old robbery like Malta, and would have remained with you quietly. Five thousand men would be sufficient to garrison it, and it would pay itself by the great trade you would have in Egypt. You could prohibit the introduction of all manufactures except English, and consequently you would have all the commerce of Egypt, as there is no other sea-port town in the country. In my opinion, it would be to you an acquisition far preferable to Gibraltar, or Malta. Egypt once in possession of the French, farewell India to the English. This was one of the grand projects I aimed at. I know not why you set so great a value upon Gibraltar; it is a bad harbour, and costs an enormous sum of money. From it you cannot prevent a fleet from passing into the Mediterranean. When I was sovereign of France, I would much rather have seen Gibraltar in your hands, than in those of the Spaniards; because your having possession of it always fed the hatred of the Spaniards against you." I observed that it had been reported he had intended to besiege it, and for that purpose had marched a great army into Spain; although others said that his object was merely to get his troops a footing in that country. He laughed, and said, "*C'est vrai.* Turkey," added he, "must soon fall, and it will be impossible to divide it without allotting some portion to France, which will be Egypt. But, if you had kept Alexandria, you would have prevented the French from obtaining it, and of ultimately gaining possession of India, which will certainly follow their possession of Egypt."

12*th.*—Found Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House closeted with Sir Thomas Reade. Had a conversation with him afterwards in the library relative to the proposition which had been made to him on the 8th. His excellency, however, would not understand that the visiting of only such houses into which entrance had not been prohibited by him, and abstaining from entering all which were marked as objectionable in a list made by himself, was in the end precisely the same as the mode which he had suggested of only visiting certain houses that were specifically named in a list. He said, with considerable ill humour, that General Bonaparte had some *design* in it, and that he would not grant his consent. I observed that it was rather unfortunate that he had desired me to make any proposition on the subject, as it might afford a foundation for another charge of shuffling. His excellency replied by desiring me to tell General Bonaparte, as he had done on former occasions, that he might consider himself very fortunate in having so good a man to deal with, &c.

Mrs. and Misses Balcombe arrived at Longwood. I dined with Napoleon in company with them. He was extremely lively and chatty, and displayed a fund of *causerie* rarely to be met with. He instructed Miss Eliza how to play at billiards.

In the evening, Napoleon directed me for the future not to bring him any more communications or propositions from Sir Hudson Lowe, without having first asked the latter what the result would be, provided he, (Napoleon,) agreed to them. "*C'est un menteur,*" said he, "*un homme d'insinuations comme les petits tyrans d'Italie, qui n'a rien d'Anglais, et qui a la rage de tourmenter et de tracasser les gens.*"

Application made on the 10th to Sir Hudson Lowe to allow Cipriani to go down into the valley (guarded by a soldier,) to purchase sheep and vegetables from the farmers, as the meat sent by the government was not eatable. Refused by Sir Hudson Lowe. The daily allowance of meat, vegetables, wines, &c. being carted up in the sun to Longwood, many of the articles are rendered unfit for use on the road.

14*th*.—Breakfasted with Napoleon, with whom I had a conversation about Russia. "If Paul had lived," said he, "there would have been a peace with England in a short time, as you would not have been long able to contend with the united northern powers. I wrote to Paul to continue building ships, and to endeavour to unite the north against you; not to hazard any battles, as the English would gain them, but allow you to exhaust yourselves, and by all means to get a large fleet into the Mediterranean."

Some conversation then took place relative to the manner in which the British ministers had treated him, which he asserted to be much worse than that which had been practised towards Queen Mary.

"Mary," said he, "was better treated. She was permitted to write to whom she pleased, and she was confined in England, which of itself was every thing; it appears that she was persecuted more on account of her religion by the Puritans, than from any other cause." I observed that Mary was accused of having been an accomplice in the murder of her husband. He replied, "of that there is not the smallest doubt. She even married his murderer afterwards. * * * * employs the murderers of his father. One of them O * * * is now his aid-de-camp. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that at T * * * he observed to me that I paid a great deal of attention to B * * * *, and begged to know my reasons for it? I answered, because he is your general. '*Cependant*,' said * * *, '*c'est un vilain coquin. C'est lui qui a assassiné mon père*, and policy alone has obliged, and obliges me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business.' Alexander and the King of Prussia," continued he, "dined with me every day, and in order to pay a compliment to * * *, I had intended, on the day that this conversation took place, to have asked B * * * * to dinner, as being the commander-in-chief of his army. This displeased * * *, who, although he asked B * * * * to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B * * * *, O * * * *, P * * *, and others. There was a Cossac, in whom Paul had confidence, stationed at his door. The conspirators came up, and demanded entrance. P * * * told him who he was, and that he wanted to see the emperor upon immediate business. The faithful Cossac refused. The conspirators fell upon him, and after a desperate resistance, overpowered and cut him to pieces. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise, got out and endeavoured to escape to the empress's apartments. Unluckily for himself, he, in his suspicions, a day or two before, had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press. Meanwhile the conspirators broke open the door, and running to the bed, perceived that there was nobody in it. 'We are lost,' they cried, 'he has escaped.' P * * *, who had more presence of mind than the rest, went to the bed, and putting his hands under the bed-clothes said, 'The nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off.' They then began to search, and finally dragged Paul out of his hiding-place. They presented him a paper containing his abdication, which they wanted him to sign. He refused at first, but said that he would abdicate, if they would release him. They then seized and knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance, and, fearful that assistance might arrive, B * * * * despatched him by stamping his heel into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others held him down. Paul in his struggles for life, once got B * * * *'s heel into his mouth, and bit a piece out of the skin of it."

I asked him if he thought that Paul had been mad? "Latterly," said Napoleon, "I believe that he was. At first, he was strongly prejudiced against the revolution, and every person concerned in it; but afterwards I had rendered him reasonable, and had changed his opinions altogether. If Paul had lived, you would have lost India before now. An agreement was made between Paul and myself to invade it. I furnished the plan. I was to have sent thirty thousand good troops. He was to send a similar number of the best Russian soldiers, and forty thousand Cossacs. I was to subscribe ten millions, for the purchase of camels and other requisites for crossing the desert. The King of Prussia was to have been applied to by both of us to grant a passage for my troops through his dominions, which would have been immediately granted. I had at the same time made a demand to the King of Persia for a passage through his country, which would also have been granted, although the negociations were not entirely concluded, but would have succeeded, as the Persians were desirous of profiting by it themselves. My troops were to have gone to Warsaw, to be joined by the Russians and Cossacs, and to have marched from thence to the Caspian Sea, where they would have either embarked, or have proceeded by land, according to circumstances. I was beforehand with you, in sending an ambassador to Persia to make interest there. Since that time, your ministers have been *imbecilles* enough to allow the Russians to get four provinces, which increase their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you."

I asked then if it were true that Alexander had intended to have seized upon Turkey? Napoleon answered, "All his thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it; at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, on account of the numbers of Greeks in the Turkish dominions who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained. I considered that the barbarians of the north were already too powerful, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria already trembles, Russia and Prussia united, Austria falls, and England cannot prevent it. France under the present family is nothing, and the Austrians are so *lâches*, that they will be easily overpowered. *Una nazione a colpo di bastone.*[*] They will offer little resistance to the Russians, who are brave and patient. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier, always a soldier. Barbarians, who, one may say, have no country, and to whom every country is better than the one which gave them birth. When the Cossacs entered France, it was indifferent to them what women they violated, old or young were alike to them, as any were preferable to those they had left behind. Moreover the Russians are poor, and it is necessary for them to conquer. When I am dead and gone, my memory will be esteemed, and I shall be revered in consequence of having foreseen, and endeavoured to put a stop to, that which will yet take place. It will be revered when the barbarians of the north will possess Europe, which would not have happened, had it not been for you, *signori Inglesi.*"

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[*] Means a nation that may be ruled with blows.

Napoleon expressed great anxiety relative to Count Montholon, as the governor had made some insinuations that his removal was in contemplation. "I should feel," continued he, "the loss of Montholon most sensibly; as, independent of his attachment to me, he is most useful, and endeavours to anticipate all my wants. I know that it would grieve him much to leave me, though in truth it would render him a great service if he were removed from this desolate place, and restored to the bosom of his friends, as he is not proscribed, and has nothing to fear in France. Moreover, being of a noble family, he might readily find favour with the Bourbons if he chose."

Accompanied Countess Montholon to Plantation House, to pay a visit to Lady Lowe. Saw Sir Hudson, who said that "he would not place any confidence in the assurances of General Bonaparte, and was determined that he should not enter any house unaccompanied by a British officer." Some discussion then took place relative to the *passes* which his excellency had formerly given to persons who were desirous to visit Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe wished to persuade me that he had never given a pass for one day only,* and that Major Gorrequer could testify to the truth of that. I remarked, that several persons to whom he had granted passes, had shewn them to Count Bertrand at Hut's Gate, and pointed out to him, that on the pass itself the day had been specified, and on that account they had begged of Bertrand to exert himself, to induce Napoleon to see them, as their passes were null after that day. Sir Hudson angrily replied, that "they were *liars*."

Before my departure, Sir Hudson Lowe told me that I might take some of the numbers of the Ambigu to Longwood, and shew them to General Bonaparte.

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* This was a matter of public notoriety both at St. Helena and amongst the passengers to and from England.

On my return informed Napoleon that I had received some numbers of a periodical work called *l'Ambigu*, which, I added, were extremely abusive of him. He laughed, and said, "children only care for abuse;" and then desired me to bring them to him. When he saw them, he said, "Ah! Pelletier. He has been libelling me these twenty years. But I am very glad to get them."

Countess Montholon, and Mrs. and Miss Balcombe, passed an hour in conversation with Napoleon after dinner yesterday.

Cipriani in town, employed as customary.

17*th.*—Napoleon observed that he found Pelletier's Ambigu very interesting, although it contained many falsehoods and *bêtises*. "I have been reading," continued he, "the account of the battle of Waterloo contained in it, which is nearly correct. I have been considering who could have been the author. It must have been some person about me. Had it not been for the imbecility of Grouchy," added he, "I should have gained that day."

I asked if he thought that Grouchy had betrayed him intentionally. "No, no," replied Napoleon, "but there was a want of energy on his part. There was also treason amongst the staff. I believe that some of the staff officers whom I had sent to Grouchy, betrayed me, and went over to the enemy. Of this, however, I am not certain, as I have never seen Grouchy since."

I asked if he had thought Marshal Soult to have been in his interest? Napoleon answered, "certainly, I considered so. But Soult did not betray Louis, as has been supposed, nor was he privy to my return and landing in France. For some days, Soult thought that I was *mad*, and that I must certainly be lost. Notwithstanding this, appearances were so much against Soult, and without intending it his acts turned out to be so favourable to my projects, that, were I on his jury, and ignorant of what I know, I should condemn him for having betrayed Louis. But he really was not privy to it, although Ney in his defence stated that I told him so. As to the proclamation which Ney said that I had sent to him, it is not true. I sent him nothing but orders. I would have stopped the proclamation, had it been in my power, as it was unworthy of me. Ney was deficient in education, or he would not have published it, or indeed have acted as he did. For when he promised the king to bring me back in an iron cage, he was sincere, and really meant what he said, and continued so until two days before he actually joined me. He ought to have acted like Oudinot, who asked his troops if they might be depended upon, to which they unanimously replied, 'We will not fight against the emperor, nor for the Bourbons.' He could not prevent the troops from joining me, nor indeed the peasants, but he went too far."

"Mouton Duvernet," said he, "suffered unjustly; at least considering all circumstances, he did not deserve it more than another. He hung upon the flanks of my little army for two days, and his intentions were for the king. But every one joined me. The enthusiasm was astonishing. I might have entered Paris with four hundred thousand men, if I had liked. What is still more surprising, and I believe unparalleled in history is, that it was effected without any conspiracy. There was no plot, no understanding with any of the generals in France. Not one of them knew my intentions. In my proclamations consisted the whole of my conspiracy. With them I effected every thing. With them I led the nation. Not even Massena knew of my intention. When he was informed of my having landed with a few hundred men he disbelieved it, and pronounced it impossible, thinking that if I had entertained such a project I should have made him acquainted with it. The Bourbons want to make it appear that a conspiracy existed in the army, which is the reason they have shot Mouton Duvernet, Ney, and others, because my having effected what I did, not by the aid of a conspiracy, or by force, as not a musquet was fired, but by the general wish of the nation, reflects such disgrace upon them."

"There never was yet," continued Napoleon, "a king who was more the sovereign of the *people* than I was. If I were not possessed of the smallest talent, I could reign easier in France than Louis and the Bourbons, endowed with the greatest abilities. The mass of the French nation hate the old nobles and the priests. I have not sprung from the *ancienne noblesse*, nor have I ever too much encouraged the priests. The French nation have predominant in them, *la vanità, la leggerezza, l'independenza, ed il capriccio*,* with an unconquerable passion for glory. They will as soon do without bread, as without glory; and a proclamation will lead them (*les entrainer*). Unlike England, where the inhabitants of a whole county may be inflamed by, and will follow the opinion of two or three noble families, they must be themselves courted."

"Some young and ignorant peasants," continued Napoleon, "who were born since the revolution, were conversing with some older and better informed men about the Bourbons. 'Who are those Bourbons?' said one. 'What are they like?' 'Why,' replied one of the older men, 'they are like that old ruined chateau, which you see near our village: like it, their time is past and gone, they are no longer of the age.'"

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* Vanity, levity, independence, and caprice.

"The Bourbons will find," added he, "that their caressing the marshals and generals will not answer. They must caress the *people*. To *them* they must address themselves. Unless they adopt some measures to render themselves popular, you will see a terrible explosion burst forth in France. The nation will never bear to live debased and humiliated as it is at present. When I hear of a nation living without bread, then I will believe that the French will exist without glory.

"At Waterloo not a single soldier betrayed me. Whatever treason there was, existed among the generals, and not among the soldiers or the regimental officers; these last were acquainted with each other's sentiments, and purged themselves by turning out such as they suspected."

"Your nation," continued Napoleon, "is chiefly guided by interest in all its actions. I have found since I have fallen into your hands, that you have no more liberty than other countries. I have paid dearly for the romantic and chivalrous opinion which I had formed of you."

Here I repeated nearly what I had said upon former occasions. Napoleon shook his head, and replied, "I recollect that Paoli, who was a great friend to your nation, in fact who was almost an Englishman, said, on hearing the English extolled as the most generous, the most liberal, and the most unprejudiced nation on earth, 'Softly, you go too far; they are not so generous nor so unprejudiced as you imagine; they are very self-interested; they are a nation of merchants, and generally have gain in view. Whenever they do any thing, they always calculate what profit they shall derive from it. They are the most calculating people in existence.' This Paoli said, not without at the same time having given you credit for the good national qualities which you really possess. *Now* I believe that Paoli was right."

Napoleon then made some remarks upon Longwood, expressed his surprise that some person had not made a contract to bring a supply of water to it and to the camp; stipulating that he should be permitted to establish a garden in the valley, by means of which a sufficiency of vegetables might be produced at a cheap rate, not only for Longwood and the camp, but also for the ships.—"Here," continued he, "if water were brought by a conduit, Novarre, with the help of two or three Chinese, would produce a sufficiency of the vegetables which we so much want. How preferable would it be to dispose of the public money in conducting water to those poor soldiers in camp, than in digging of ditches and throwing up fortifications round this house, just as if an army were coming to attack it. A man who has no regard for his soldiers ought never to have a command. The greatest necessity of the soldier is water."

Sir Thomas Reade made a long harangue this day upon the "impropriety of allowing Bonaparte any newspapers, unless such as had been previously inspected by the governor."

18*th*.—Saw Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House. Found him busied in examining some newspapers for Longwood, several of which he put aside, as not being, in his opinion, proper to be sent to Napoleon, observing to me, at the same time "that however strange it might appear, General Bonaparte ought to be obliged to him for not sending him newspapers indiscriminately, as the perusal of articles written in his own favour might excite hopes which, when not ultimately realized, could not fail to afflict him; that moreover, the British government thought it improper to let him know every thing that appeared in the newspapers."

19*th*.—Sir Thomas Reade very busy in circulating reports in the town that "General Bonaparte was sulky and would see nobody; that the governor was too good, and that the villain ought to be put in chains."

21*st*.—The David transport brought the news of the arrival of the Adolphus at the Cape, laden chiefly with iron rails, to surround Napoleon's house, for which the governor had sent to England.

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and inspected the works throwing up about the stables, and the sentinels that he had placed. Held a long conversation with me afterwards about the restrictions and limits, without coming to any determination.

After having observed that I was responsible in some degree to ministers for any unfavourable impressions which might exist upon Napoleon's mind, his excellency proceeded to catechise me relative to my conversations with him. I hinted to him the peculiar delicacy of my situation, and the impropriety and indeed impossibility that existed of my making the disclosures which he required. Sir Hudson said, "that he admitted the peculiar delicacy of my situation, but at the same time that I ought to make a full and ample disclosure to him, and to him only, of the language made use of by General Bonaparte, especially of any abusive epithets. That it was necessary for him to know every thing that passed. That for a man who had so much intercourse with General Bonaparte, he thought I was less influenced by him than ninety-nine out of a hundred would have been. That my situation was of great importance, and one in which I could render great services. That absolute silence as to what was going on, except to him, was imperatively necessary, and indeed the chief requisite."

His excellency then told me, in order, as he said, to shew the good opinion that he entertained of me, that "he had no scruple in informing me, that the commissioners were to be looked upon with great suspicion; that they were in fact spies upon every body and upon every thing, and only wanted to pick something out of me, in order to send it to their courts; that I had better be very cautious, as in all probability they would report to their employers every thing that I said, as they had already done to him; in proof of which he repeated to me the tenor of the conversation which I had held with Baron Sturmer at Plantation House on the 21st of Oct. 1816, adding his satisfaction at having found that I had been cautious in my remarks. He also said that he had written to Lord Bathurst in very favourable terms about me, and had recommended that my salary should be augmented to 500*l.* per annum."

After this his excellency acquainted me that he had received a letter from young Las Cases for me, which he would send.

In the evening I received the above-mentioned letter under an inclosure, containing one to General Gourgaud from his mother, as Sir Hudson described it in his note, which I was directed to deliver to him.

24th.—Mr. Vernon came up to Longwood to *ondoyer* Count Bertrand's child. Napoleon played at billiards in the evening.

25th.—Cipriani in town, purchasing provisions.

28th.—Napoleon had very little rest during the night. Got up at five o'clock and walked about in the billiard-room for some time. Found him lying on his sofa. Looked low, and out of spirits. Saluted me with a faint voice. Gave him a Portsmouth paper of the 18th of November last. On reading some remarks made about the injury that was likely to accrue to the French interest by the marriage of the Emperor of Austria and the Princess of Bavaria, together with an observation that he, Napoleon, had prevented it even when in the plenitude of his power; Napoleon said, "*c'est vrai*, I was apprehensive of the consequences of the alliance between the two houses. But what signifies it now. Under the Bourbons, France will never be a first-rate power. There is no occasion to be afraid of her, she will always be an inferior power under that house of blockheads."

Adverting to the commercial distress of England, he observed that Lord Castlereagh deserved the reprobation of the English nation for the little care which he had taken of their interests at the time of the general peace. "The misfortunes which befel me," said he, "gave such an ascendancy to England, that almost any demand made by her would have been granted; independent of the *right* which she had to claim a recompense for the vast expense which she had been at. An opportunity offered itself, which probably will never occur again, for England to recover and extricate herself from all her difficulties in a few years, and to relieve her from the immense load of debt which weighs her down. Had Castlereagh been really attentive to the interests of his own country, he would have embraced, at an early period, the only opportunity that had been presented to him to secure such commercial advantages to England as would have relieved her from her embarrassments. But, instead of this, he only attended to paying his court to kings and emperors, who flattered his vanity by taking notice of him; well knowing that in doing so, they gained the great point of making him neglect his country's interests, and consequently benefited their own. He was completely duped, and will yet be cursed by your nation.

"I see no other way now," continued he, "to extricate you from your difficulties, than by reducing the interest of the national debt, confiscating the greatest part of the revenues of the clergy, all the sinecures, diminishing considerably the army, and establishing a system of reduction altogether. Let those who want priests pay them. Your sinking fund is a humbug. Impose a heavy tax upon absentees. It is too late now for you to make commercial treaties. What would *then* have been considered as only just and reasonable would now be thought far different. The opportunity is gone, and the nation is indebted to your *imbecilles* of ministers for all the calamities which will befal it, and which are solely to be attributed to their criminal neglect."

"I understand," said he, "that the botanist* is on the eve of departure, without having seen me. In the most barbarous countries, it would not be prohibited even to a prisoner under sentence of death to have the consolation of conversing with a person who had lately seen his wife and child. Even in that worst of courts, the revolutionary tribunal of France, such an instance of barbarity and of callousness to all feeling was never known; and your nation, which is so much cried up for liberality, permits such treatment. I am informed that this botanist has made application to see me, which was refused; and in my letter to Las Cases, which was read by the governor, I complained of it as a hardship, and thereby made application to see him. If I had asked it in any other manner, I should have exposed myself to the insult of a refusal from this

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* Napoleon had been informed, and I believe with truth, that this gentleman had seen and conversed with the empress and her son a short time before he left Germany for St. Helena.

*bourreau. C'est le comble de la cruauté.** He must indeed be a barbarian who would deny to a husband and a father the consolation of discoursing with a person who had lately seen, spoken to, and touched his wife, his child," (here Napoleon's voice faltered); "from whose embraces he is for ever separated by the cruel policy of a few. The Anthropophagi of the South Seas would not practise it. Previous to devouring their victims, they would allow them the consolation of seeing and conversing with each other. The cruelties which are practised here would be disavowed by cannibals."

Napoleon now walked up and down for some time, much agitated. Afterwards he proceeded, "You see the manner in which he endeavours to impose upon the passengers going to England, that he may make them believe he is all goodness to me; and that it is all my own fault if I do not receive strangers. That he interests himself so far as even to send up his own aid-de-camp to effect it, although he well knows this last circumstance would of itself be sufficient to prevent my receiving the person whom he accompanied. His object now is to impress upon the minds of the public that I hate the sight of an Englishman. That is the reason he desired you to tell me that

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* It is the height of cruelty.

Las Cases had made me say that I abhorred the sight of the English uniform."

I observed that Sir Hudson Lowe had also told me that he conceived it to be an invention of Las Cases. "It is an invention of his own," replied the emperor, "in order to impose upon you. If I had hated the English, should I have given myself up to them, instead of going to the emperor of Russia, or of Austria? Is it possible that I could have given a greater proof of esteem for a nation, than that which I have done for the English,—unfortunately for myself?"

Napoleon now opened the door, called St. Denis, and in my presence asked him if in Las Cases' journal it was asserted that he (Napoleon) had ever said that he hated the sight of the English uniform, or the English, or words of a similar tendency and meaning? St. Denis replied, that nothing of the kind was contained in the journal. "There," said Napoleon, "if Las Cases had said so, it would have been in his journal. He *must* be wicked who would torment me under the circumstances in which I am placed. He has got nothing here," continued Napoleon, placing his hand over his heart, "and when there is nothing here, the head must be bad: he is a man unfit to command, or to act for himself. Nature in forming some men, intended that they should always remain in a subaltern situation. Such was Berthier. There was not in the world so good a *chef d'état major;* but change his occupation, he was not fit to command five hundred men. A good scribbler, like this man, an excellent *commis.* You may see how unfit for command he is, when he allows himself to be led by the nose by such a contemptible *imbecille* as that Colonel Reade. Have you ever read Gil Blas?" I replied that I had. "That eternal smile on Reade's lips," rejoined Napoleon, "is not natural, and reminds me of Ambrose de Lamela. Like Lamela's going to church while he was plotting to rob his master, it masks his real intentions. I have been informed," continued he, "that the Balcombes were interrogated and cross-examined both by the governor and by his privy councillor, Reade, touching what they had heard and seen at Longwood, and that the father replied, that his daughters had come here to have the honour of visiting us, and not as spies."

March 1st.—Napoleon conversed with me for some time relative to the iron railing said to have been brought out in the Adolphus. I told him that it was customary in England to put rails round the country-houses of gentlemen, at which he looked rather incredulous.

2nd.—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room, lying on his sofa. He was rather low spirited, looked pale, and complained of diarrhœa. Of the remedies which I advised, he would only consent to take freely of weak chicken-broth, or barley-water.

During the course of conversation he observed that he saw a change in the system of the Bourbons favourable to them, as, instead of employing the ultra faction, and other violent characters, they had appointed men who had been formerly employed by him, and who had the confidence of the nation. Amongst others he mentioned Molé.

Asked Napoleon whether the statement contained in the Observer relative to Clarke's conduct towards Carnot, in having withheld his pension, and the manner in which he himself was reported to have acted, were true. Napoleon replied, "it is perfectly true. But I was surprised to see the papers occupied so much about Clarke, who is not of sufficient importance for people to trouble themselves about him." I asked his opinion of Clarke. He replied, "he is not a man of talent, but he is laborious and useful in the *bureau*. He is, moreover, incorruptible, and saving of the public money, which he never has appropriated to his own use. He is an excellent *redacteur*. He is not a soldier, however, nor do I believe that he ever saw a shot fired in his life. He is infatuated with his nobility. He pretends that he is descended from the ancient kings of Scotland, or

Ireland, and constantly vaunts of his noble descent. A good clerk. I sent him to Florence as ambassador, where he employed himself in nothing but turning over the old musty records of the place, in search of proofs of the nobility of my family, for you must know that they came from Florence. He plagued me with letters upon this subject, which caused me to write to him to attend to the business for which he had been sent to Florence, and not to trouble his head or mine with his nonsense about nobility; that I was the *first* of my family. Notwithstanding this, he still continued his inquiries. When I returned from Elba he offered his services to me, but I sent him word that I would not employ any traitors, and ordered him to his estates." I asked if he thought that Clarke would have served him faithfully. "Yes," replied the emperor, "as long as I was the strongest, like a great many others." I inquired if it were true that he had written the letter which had been attributed to him, announcing to Clarke the death of his nephew? He replied, that he had, and that his name was Elliot.

I remarked that his ancestors were noble. He replied, they were senators of Florence.

Napoleon then observed, "in the papers, they make me serve for all purposes, and say whatever suits their views. Lord Castlereagh, on his return to Ireland, publicly asserted a falsehood relative to what had been my intentions upon England, and put expressions into my mouth since my arrival here, which I never made use of." I observed, that in all probability Lord Castlereagh had been informed that he had said so. He replied, "it may be, but your ministers have little scruple in having recourse to falsehood when they think it will forward any object they have in view. It is," continued he, "always dishonourable and base to belie the unfortunate, and doubly so when in your power, and when you hold a padlock upon the mouth to prevent a reply."

3rd.—Saw Napoleon dressing. Free from any complaint. In very high spirits. Laughed and quizzed me about some young ladies, and asked me to give all the *little* news of the town. Appeared to be in better spirits than he had been for a long time.

Had some further conversation relative to the governor's declaration that Count Las Cases had, in his journal, made Napoleon say, that he abhorred the sight of the British uniform, and his excellency's assertion, that Las Cases had endeavoured to make him hate the English. "I cannot conceive," said Napoleon, "what object Las Cases could have in view by doing so? What could he gain by it? On the contrary, Las Cases always spoke well of the English, said that he had been ten years amongst them, and had been always well-treated. It is an invention of this man's, whose whole superstructure is built upon lies. I said, certainly, that I did not like to see officers in uniform, closely attending or watching me, because the uniform reminded me that I was considered as a prisoner, and gave rise to unpleasant reflections. If even *you* were to come into my apartment every day in your uniform, it would give me the idea of your being a *gendarme*. But this man has no *morale*. The admiral had, and immediately understood the delicacy of it when it was mentioned to him."

He then asked some medical questions, went into the billiard-room, ordered some bottled porter, took a glass of it, saying in English, *your health*, and made me take another. Asked many questions about porter, and was much surprised at the low price it bore in England. While walking about the room, "What sort of a man did you take me to be before you became my surgeon?" said he, "What did you think of my character, and what I was capable of? Give me your real opinion frankly." I replied, "I thought you to be a man, whose stupendous talents were only to be equalled by your measureless ambition, and although I did not give credit to one-tenth part of the libels which I had read against you, still, I believed that you would not hesitate to commit a crime, when you found it to be necessary, or thought it might be useful to you." "This is just the answer that I expected," replied Napoleon, "and is perhaps the opinion of Lord Holland, and even of numbers of the French. I have risen to too great a pitch of human glory and elevation, not to have excited the envy and jealousy of mankind. They will say, 'it is true that he has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of glory, *mais pour y arriver, il commit beaucoup de crimes*, (but to attain it, he has committed many crimes).' Now the fact is, that I not only never committed any crimes, but I never even thought of doing so. *J'ai toujours marché avec l'opinion de grandes masses et les évènemens*, (I have always gone with the opinion of great masses, and with events). I have always made *peu de cas* of the opinion of individuals, of that of the public a great deal; of what use, then, would crime have been to me? I am too much a fatalist, and have always despised mankind too much to have had recourse to crime to frustrate their attempts. *J'ai marché toujours avec l'opinion de cinq ou six millions d'hommes*, (I have always marched with the opinion of five or six millions of men); of what use, then, would crime have been to me?"

"In spite of all the libels," continued he, "I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known, and the good that I have done, with the faults that I have committed, will be compared. I am not uneasy for the result. Had I succeeded, I should have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparaleled, *because* unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have gained. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. From nothing I raised myself to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. My ambition was great, I admit, but it was of a cold nature, (*d'une nature froide*,) and caused *par les évènemens*, (by events), and the opinion of great bodies. I have always been of opinion, that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was, *la carrière ouverte aux talens*, (the career open to talents,) without distinction of birth or fortune, and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hate me so much."

"If ever policy," continued he, "authorized a man to commit a crime and murder others, it authorized me to put to death Ferdinand, and the other Bourbons of his family when in France.

Were I a man accustomed to commit crimes, would I not have effected one which it would have been so beneficial to me to put in execution? Ferdinand and his family once out of the way, the Spaniards would have had nothing to fight for, and would have submitted. No, had I been inclined to commit crimes, I should not be here. Would a French Bourbon be in existence now, had I consented to their murder? Not only did I refuse to consent, but I positively prohibited that any attempt of the kind should be made."

"It is not," added Napoleon, "by what the Quarterly Review, or Pichon says, or by what I could write myself, that posterity will judge of me; it is by the voice of so many millions of inhabitants who have been under my government."

"Those," continued he, "who consented to the union of Poland with Russia, will be the execration of posterity, while my name will be pronounced with respect, when the fine southern countries of Europe are a prey to the barbarians of the north. Perhaps my greatest fault was, not having deprived the King of Prussia of his throne, which I might easily have done. After Friedland, I ought to have taken Silesia and * * * from Prussia, and given them to Saxony, as the king and the Prussians were too much humiliated not to revenge themselves the first opportunity. Had I done this, given them a free constitution, and delivered the peasants from feodal slavery, they would have been contented."

Napoleon afterwards walked down to Count Bertrand's. For two or three days he has taken much more exercise than formerly.

4th.—Saw Napoleon in the billiard-room. He was in extremely good spirits. Returned me the Ambigu for 1816, and desired me to endeavour to obtain the numbers for 1815.

In answer to a question of mine about P***, he said "P*** is a *polisson* who would write for any body that would pay him. He made offers to me to change his style, and write for me in such a manner that the British government would not be aware that he was employed by me. One time in particular, he sent to the police a MS. copy of a book written against me, with an offer that it should not be printed provided he were paid a certain sum of money. This was made known to me. I ordered the police to answer, that if he paid the expenses of printing, the work should be published in Paris for him. He was not the only one who made offers of the kind to me when I was in power. Some of the editors of the English newspapers made similar advances, and declared that they could render me most essential services, but I *then* did not attach sufficient importance to their offers, and refused them. Not so the

Bourbons. In 1814, the editor of The * * * * * newspaper was paid about three thousand pounds of your money, besides having a great number of copies taken.* I told you before that I found his receipt amongst Blacas's papers on my return from Elba. I do not know if he is in their pay now. In that year also a great number of pamphlets were printed in London against the Bourbons, and copies of each sent over to them, with a threat of publication if they were not paid. The Bourbons were greatly frightened, and greedily bought them up. There was one pamphlet in particular, a terrible libel against the late queen of France, which it cost them a large sum of money to suppress.

"When I was on the throne," continued he, "there were thirty clerks employed in translating the English newspapers, and in making extracts from English works of merit. Matters which appeared of importance were extracted from the newspapers, and daily submitted to me. But I never had it done in my presence, or endeavoured to accompany the translator in his progress, as has been asserted. I did not even know the English article '*the*' at that time. Indeed, to me it was not of sufficient importance to learn the language purposely to read the papers, especially as I had letters and intelligence constantly from the spies in England. The papers, however, served to corroborate their information relative to the movements of troops, assembling and sailing of men of war, and other measures of government."

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* "Now, though no one journal is mentioned more than another in this passage, *it is impossible not to suppose* THE TIMES to be the journal meant."—*Times Newspaper, July* 15*th*, 1822.

The governor at Longwood. Explained his intentions of putting the iron railing round the house, the doors of which he said he should cause to be locked at seven or eight o'clock at night, and the keys sent to Plantation House, where they should remain until day-break the next morning.

5th.—The Tortoise store-ship, Captain Cook, arrived direct from England, which she had left on the 18th of December, 1816. Went to town, and learned that Warden had published a book about Napoleon which had excited considerable interest, and was supposed to have produced a favourable impression towards him. Received some newspapers containing extracts from the work.

On my return to Longwood I found Napoleon in quite different spirits from yesterday. He was reclining on his sofa, in a very pensive attitude, his head resting upon one of his hands, and apparently melancholy. His morning gown was on, a madras round his head, and his beard unshaved. In rather a desponding manner, he asked me "What news?" and if the ship had arrived from England? I replied that she had arrived direct from that country. After having related something of what I heard and conceived to be most interesting, I mentioned that a book had been published respecting him by Warden, which had excited great interest. At the name of Warden he raised his head and said, "What, Warden of the Northumberland?" I replied in the affirmative. "What is the nature of the work? Is it for or against me? Is it well written? What is the subject?" I replied, that it was a description of what had passed on board of the Northumberland and here; that it was in his favour, and contained many curious statements, and also refutations of some accusations that had been made against him, an explanation about the affair of the Duke d'Enghien, and that it was well written, &c. "Have you seen it?" I replied, "No." "Then how do you know that it is in my favour, or that it is well written?" I replied that I had seen some extracts from it in the newspapers, which I gave to him. He sat down to read the papers, asked the explanation of a few passages, said they were true; inquired what Warden had said of the affair of the Duke d'Enghien? I replied that he asserted that Talleyrand had detained a letter from the Duke for a considerable time after his execution, and that he had attributed his death to Talleyrand. "*Di questo non c'è dubbio*" (of this there is no doubt), replied Napoleon.

Napoleon then asked how the work had been received in England? I replied, "I had heard that it had succeeded very well." He asked "whether the ministers were pleased with it." I answered, "that they had not as yet shewn any displeasure, as Warden had been recently appointed to a ship." "I suppose," said Napoleon, "that he has arranged it so as to please the ministers?" I replied that from what I had been able to learn, he had endeavoured to state the truth.

I then assisted him in reading over some extracts which were in the Observer, the correctness of which he admitted. He perused very attentively and made me explain to him three times an article which stated that the Empress Marie Louise had fallen from her horse into the Po, and with difficulty had been saved from a watery grave. He appeared considerably affected by the perusal.

Subsequently he conversed about the tumults in England, and the distress of the poorer classes. "Your ministers," said he, "are answerable for all the misery and the distress of England, by their having neglected to take advantage of favourable circumstances to secure to the country great commercial advantages. In consequence of my misfortunes in Russia, successes unparalleled in the history of the world attended her, and by the force of circumstances an opportunity was afforded her of rendering herself the most flourishing and powerful nation in the world. I have always considered England to be in a dangerous state, in an unnatural state of over-exertion, and that if some unforeseen circumstance did not arise to succour her, she must sink under the pressure of the exertions she has made, and the load of taxation. Such an opportunity *has occurred*, but your ministers, like blockheads, have not taken advantage of it, but preferred paying their court to those kings to consulting the interests of their country. Every sovereign or minister ought to hold the interests and welfare of his own country paramount to all other considerations, and ought never to fail to take advantage of existing circumstances to benefit it, particularly when it can be done by means of a treaty. Those who neglect it, are traitors to their country. You have already the hatred of all nations, in consequence of your maritime laws, and your pretensions to be mistress of the seas, which you say belongs to you by right. Then why not take advantage of it? You have made a most unprofitable bargain; you have the hatred of all other nations, on account of your maritime pretensions, without enjoying any benefit from them. Your ministers do not know the situation of their own country."

"It appears to me," continued he, "to be clearly the intention of your ministers to subject England to a military yoke, to put down by degrees the liberty which prevails there, and to render their own power unlimited. All those honours conferred upon the military, and the tenor of several other steps lately adopted, are only so many preliminaries towards it. I can discern their object. Assistance, if necessary, will probably be rendered by the other sovereigns of Europe, who are jealous, and cannot bear the idea that England should be the only free nation in Europe. They will all assist in putting you down." I observed that the English would never submit to be made a nation of slaves. He replied, "there is every appearance that the attempt will be made."

Some broken numbers of the Times and a few letters sent up by the governor. General Gourgaud received a letter from his sister, which informed him that Sir George Cockburn had called twice to see his mother in Paris. This mark of attention on the part of the admiral quite enchanted General Gourgaud. Count and Countess Bertrand in raptures, as the same letter stated that Madame Dillon, the Countess's mother, was doing well. Though for many years a wanderer, I never observed so forcibly before the satisfaction and consolation afforded by a letter from distant relations or friends, to those who are separated from their home. By the joy in the countenances of some at Longwood, it was easy to distinguish those who had received intelligence, as the melancholy and dissatisfaction pourtrayed in the others denoted the contrary. There was no necessity for asking any questions. A line of writing from Europe is, at Longwood, a treasure above all price.

6th.—Some French newspapers sent up to Napoleon by the admiral, through the governor. Napoleon very anxious to hear some further intelligence of Marie Louise. The circumstance he observed yesterday appeared to have excited some apprehensions for her safety in his mind, which was not much relieved when he perceived that only broken numbers of the newspapers had been sent up by the governor. On coming afterwards to an article in the French papers, which stated that the project for supplying Paris with water by an English company had been abandoned, he called out to me: "Have I not told you so, and that the people would not suffer it?" Informed him that the governor had sent up Mr. Warden's book to me, with instructions to deliver it to him. He looked at the fac-simile of his own hand-writing and laughed heartily.

At night Napoleon sent for me. Said that he was convinced the governor had kept back some letters and newspapers. That he had no doubt that Sir Hudson Lowe had himself received a complete series of papers, but that he had kept back some according to his usual brutal custom, because there might have been an article which would prove agreeable to him. "At first," said he, "I thought that there might have been some bad news of my wife, but a moment's reflection taught me, that if so, this man would not have failed to send it directly, in order to afflict me. Perhaps there may be some news of my son; when you go to town to-morrow, endeavour to see a complete series of papers, and look attentively at them. You can find out ten articles in your papers, while I am searching for one. Try and get some more of the Portsmouth papers, as the news is more condensed in them, and I do not lose myself as in looking over a number of the Times."

7*th.*—Cipriani in town making purchases of provisions.

8*th.*—Mrs. and Misses Balcombe at Longwood. Napoleon sent for and conversed with them for a few minutes. Sir Hudson Lowe, when informed of this, said, "that they had no business to have spoken to General Bonaparte, as their pass had only specified Count Bertrand's family."

10*th.*—Napoleon in good spirits. Had some conversation relative to Warden's book. I asked him about that part which treats of the governor's physiognomy; and Warden's reply, that he liked Lady Lowe's better. He laughed, and replied, "as well as I recollect, it is true. But I said much worse than what Warden has stated there, which I believe is to be found in Las Cases' journal, where the governor must have seen my remarks."

I then asked his opinion of Warden's book. He replied, "the foundation of it is true, but he has badly understood what was said to him; as in the work there are many mistakes, which must have arisen from bad explanation; Warden does not understand French. He has acted wrong in making me speak in the manner he has done. For, instead of having stated that it had been conveyed through an interpreter, he puts down almost every thing, as if I had been speaking to him all the time, and as if he could have understood me; consequently he has put into my mouth expressions unworthy of me, and not in my style. Any person who knows me, will readily see that it is not my style. In fact, most of what he has received through interpretation, and that composes a large portion of the work, is more or less incorrect. He has said that Massena had stormed the village of Esling thirteen times, which, if the work is translated into French, will make every French officer acquainted with the battle laugh, as Massena was not at that particular spot during the whole of the action. What he says about the prisoners that had been made at Jaffa, is also incorrect, as they were marched on twelve leagues in the direction of Bagdat, and not to Nazareth. They were Maugrabins from near Algiers, and not natives of the country that he mentions: he is incorrect in stating that I proposed to give the sick opium; I did not propose it. It was first made by one of the medical officers. He is wrong in the explanation which he has given of the reason why I wished Wright to live. My principal reason was, to be able to prove, as I told you before, by Wright's evidence, that * * * had caused assassins, hired by the Count d'* * * * to be landed in France, to murder me. This I thought I should have effected by Wright's own evidence at a trial in presence of the ambassadors of the powers in friendship with me. Now there was something glorious in Wright's death. He preferred taking away his own life, to compromising his government."

"The Duke d'Enghien was to have come to Paris to assist the assassins. The Duke de Berri also was to have landed at a certain place in Picardy, to have excited insurrection and assassination. I received information of this, and Savary was despatched to the spot to arrest him. If he had been taken, he would have been instantly shot. He was on board of an English vessel which came in close to the coast, but a certain signal which had been previously agreed upon, not having been made from Beville, he became afraid and stood off. The place where they were to have landed was called the *falaise de Beville*, near Dieppe, at the foot of a steep precipice, up which people are obliged to climb by the help of ropes. It was chosen by them on this account, as they were not likely to be interrupted by the custom-house officers. The Count d' * * * and the Duke de B * * were always endeavouring to procure my assassination. Louis, I believe, was not privy to it. They thought, I suppose, that they were at liberty to make as many attempts to assassinate me as they chose, with impunity. As head of the French government, by the laws of politics, and by the laws of nature, I should have been justified in causing assassination in return: which it would have been most easy for me to have effected."

"Shortly after Marengo," continued Napoleon, "Louis wrote a letter to me, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquieu, in which he said, that I delayed for a long time to restore him to his throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be complete without me; that one was as necessary to it as the other; and concluded by desiring me to chuse whatever I thought proper, which would be granted under him, provided I restored to him his throne. I sent him back a very handsome answer, in which I stated that I was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of himself, and his family; that I was ready to do every thing in my power to relieve them, and would interest myself about providing a suitable income for them, but that he might abandon the thought of ever returning to France as a sovereign, as that could not be effected without his having passed over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.

"Warden has been incorrectly informed that Maret was privy to my return to France. He knew nothing about it, and such a statement may injure his relations in France. He has acted also unguardedly in asserting matters upon the authority of Count and Countess Bertrand, as it may cause them many enemies. He ought to have said, 'I have been told at Longwood.' As to his saying that the information came from me. I care not, as I *fear nobody*, but he ought to have been cautious about the others.

"Warden," added he, "is a man of good intentions, and the foundation of his work is true; but many of the circumstances are incorrectly stated, in consequence of misconception, and bad interpretation. Gourgaud was very angry yesterday about what was said of him. I told him that he ought to take example by me, and observe with what patience I bore tne libels on me, with which the press was overwhelmed; that they had made me a poisoner, an assassin, a violator; a monster who was guilty of incest, and of every horrid crime, &c. That he ought to reflect upon this, and be silent."

"I see," continued he, "by some answers in the Times, that the Morning Chronicle appears to defend me. What harm could it possibly be to let me see that paper. To let me read something favourable of myself. It is very seldom that I now see any thing of the kind, but it is a cruelty to withhold so slender a consolation.

"You recollect I told you that the English would change their opinion of me, and that from the great intercourse they had with France and Italy, they would soon discover that I was not the horrid character they had believed me to be; and also that the English travellers in returning from the countries which had been under my dominion, would bring back with them sentiments quite different from those with which they had set out. This is now beginning to take place, and will increase every day. Those people will say, 'We have been deceived. On the continent we have heard none of those horrid stories. On the contrary, wherever there was a fine road, or a noble bridge, and we asked, who made this? the answer has been, Napoleon, or Bonaparte.' They will naturally say, at least this man encouraged the arts and the sciences during his reign, and endeavoured to facilitate and to increase the commerce of the countries under him.

"Lord Castlereagh," continued he, "has been guilty of a base libel by having declared that I had said, since I came here, that 'in peace, or in war, I aimed at the destruction of England.' It is wholly false, and I shall make it a subject of complaint to his master, the Prince Regent, and expose to him the unworthy conduct of his minister; conduct degrading to the character of a man. It is always dishonourable and base to publicly insult and belie the unfortunate; especially when in your power, and at such a distance as to preclude the possibility of a reply."

He then made some observations respecting Talleyrand. "As to Talleyrand," said he, "*C'est un coquin, un homme corrompu, mais homme d'esprit.* A man who seeks every opportunity to betray. After the marriage of Prince Eugene, I was obliged to turn him out of office, on account of complaints made against him by the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg. Nothing was to be got, no treaty to be made, or arrangement for commerce, without first having bribed him. There were some commercial treaties on foot at the time, to conclude which he demanded enormous sums. The Bourbons have done right to get rid of him, as he would have betrayed them the first opportunity, if he saw that there was any probability of success, as he had offered to do after my return from Elba.

"Your ministers," said he, "reason thus for sending me to St. Helena. This Bonaparte is a man of talent, and has always been an enemy to England. The Bourbons are a set of *imbecilles*, and it is better for the English to have *imbecilles* on the throne of France, than persons of talent; for the former will not have the ability, though they may have the inclination to do as much mischief to England as the latter. We must do every thing we can to keep down the French, who are our natural enemies; and the best mode of effecting it, is to place a set of fools upon the throne, who will occupy themselves in restoring the old superstition, ignorance, and prejudices of the nation, and consequently weaken, instead of strengthening it. They would have done better," continued he, "to have left me upon the throne. I would have given the English great commercial advantages, which the Bourbons dare not offer. Besides, it would have kept up the importance of the English on the continent. For the other powers being afraid of me, would have made sacrifices to keep on good terms with them, in order to have them on their side, well knowing that without their aid, they could do nothing against me; whereas now, as they are not afraid of the Bourbons, they will set but little value upon the friendship of a power that they are jealous of, and want to humble. Moreover, your ministers could always have held *me* up *in terrorem* to the people of England, whenever they wanted to command the exertions of the nation.

"I see," added Napoleon, "no feasible measure to remedy the distresses of your manufacturers, except endeavouring by all means in your power to promote the separation of the Spanish South American colonies from the mother-country. By means of this, you would have an opportunity of opening a most extensive and lucrative commerce with the South Americans, which would be productive of great advantages to you. If you do not adopt some steps of the kind, the Americans will be before-hand with you. If you act as I have said, they could trade with no other nation than you. Both Spain and France must be shut to them."

"If the war with England had lasted two or three years longer," added he, "France would not have had any further occasion for colonies. In consequence of the great encouragement I gave, and the premiums I paid to those who devoted their chemical labours to the making of sugar, especially from the beet-root, it was sold so low as fifteen sous a pound, and when the process should have been a little more matured, sugar would have been made in France as cheap as it could have been imported from the West Indies."

I remarked that the French could with difficulty have done without coffee. "They could very well have contented themselves with several kinds of herbs, as tea," replied the emperor. "Moreover, it would have been possible to have grown coffee in some of the southern parts of France, and an inferior kind of coffee of grain might have been substituted."

A few moments afterwards Napoleon observed, that it was true, as had been stated in the papers, that the Belgians were sorry that the English had gained the battle of Waterloo. "They considered themselves as Frenchmen," said he, "and in truth they were such. The greatest part of the nation loved me, and wished that I might succeed. The stories that your ministers have taken such pains to circulate respecting the nations that I had united to France having hated me and detested my tyranny, are all falsehoods. The Italians, Piedmontese, Belgians, and others, are an example of what I say. You will receive hereafter the opinions of those English who have visited the continent. You will find that what I tell you is correct, and that *millions* in Europe now *weep* for me. The Piedmontese preferred being as a province of France, to being an independent kingdom under the King of Sardinia."

Count Bertrand's cook went to camp and got so drunk as to be totally incapable of cooking the dinner for the family. Napoleon, when informed of this at dinner, sent some dishes off the table down to Countess Bertrand, with his compliments.

11*th.*—The Griffon sloop of war arrived from the Cape with a mail, in which were some letters for the French. Count Bertrand received the pleasing intelligence that his brother was no longer in exile, but had been permitted to return to his home, and to remain there under *surveillance.*

Informed by one of the partners, that last week an official letter had been sent to the house of Balcombe and Co., to demand an explanation why *fourteen shillings* more than the sum that had been allowed by government, had been expended for fish for the establishment of Longwood, in the preceding fortnight. Also a demand to know why two shillings and sixpence more than the allowance had been expended for twine. Moreover, that forty pounds of barley had been sent up to Longwood by order of the surgeon, for the use of Countess Bertrand, a repetition of which in future was prohibited, unless the order was first approved of at Plantation House.

Last Sunday Mr. Balcombe and myself had a conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe, in the library at Plantation House, relative to the affairs of Longwood. Mr. Balcombe presented two sets of bills drawn by Count Bertrand for his approval. His excellency professed himself to be greatly surprised at the large sums of money laid out by the French, and said that twelve thousand a year ought to cover all expenses. He was informed by Mr. Balcombe and myself, that it was chiefly expended in the purchase of provisions, and various necessaries of life, as the allowance granted by government was not sufficient. Amongst many other articles, I mentioned that only seventy-two pounds of beef was allowed. Sir Hudson said, that he would increase the quantity to one hundred, and would confer with Count Bertrand on the subject. He was apparently in a very bad humour, and railed at what he termed the *impudence* of Las Cases, in having presumed to send from the Cape to Longwood, some wine, Florence oil, and other articles of a similar nature, for the use of the French, which he said was an insult to the British government, and concluded by refusing to approve of more than one set of bills.*

12*th*.—Saw the emperor at eleven, a. m. in a very good humour. He made some remarks again about the disturbances in England. Observed, that he thought the Prince Regent must adopt some measures in order to pacify the people, such as reducing the taxes. "It is impossible," said he, "that a nation in cold blood will consent to pay in time of peace, taxes nearly equal to the amount of those paid by them in war, when there is no longer that stimulus, that irritation of mind which made them consider such drainings of their purses absolutely necessary to prevent their country from being devoured by a foreign nation. England," continued he, "is in an unnatural state, and some change must take place."

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* Sir Hudson Lowe would not allow any bill of exchange drawn by any of the inhabitants of Longwood to be cashed, unless it had been previously approved of, and indorsed by himself.

I said, that although great distress existed in England, the disturbances were confined to the lower classes, and that it would end by a few of them being hanged. Napoleon replied, "it may be so, Mr. Doctor, but you must consider that the *canaille*, as you call them, are the bulk of the people. They, and *not* the nobles, *form the nation*. When the *canaille* gains the day, it ceases to be any longer *canaille*. It is then called the nation. If it does not, why then some are executed, and they are called *canaille*, rebels, robbers, &c. Thus goes the world."

I then asked Napoleon if it were true, as had been stated, that he was once in danger of being taken by the Cossacs? "At the battle of Brienne," replied he, "I recollect, that about twenty or twenty-five Uhlans, not Cossacs, got round one of the wings of my army, and endeavoured to fall upon a part of the artillery. It was at the close of the day, and just beginning to be dark. They stumbled some how or other upon me and my état-major. When they saw us, they were quite lost, and did not know how to act. They did not however know who I was, neither was I myself for some time aware of who they were. I thought they were some of my own troops. Caulaincourt, however, perceived who they were, and called out to me that we were amongst enemies. Just at this moment, those Uhlans being frightened, and not knowing what to do, began to fly, and tried to escape in all directions. My staff began to fire upon them. One of them galloped up so close to me (without knowing me) as to touch my knee violently with his hand. He had a spear in his hand at the charge, but it was with the opposite one that he touched me. At first I thought that it was one of my own staff who was riding roughly by me, but looking round, I perceived that he was an enemy. I put my hand down to draw out one of my pistols to fire at him, but he was gone. Whether he was killed or escaped I know not. That day I drew my sword, which was a circumstance that rarely had occurred, as I gained battles with my eye and not with my arms. Those Uhlans were afterwards, I believe, cut to pieces." I asked if he had considered himself to have been in any great peril on that day? "No," said he, "it was an accident. My cavalry was in another part of the field at the time. It was possible certainly, that I might have been killed, but they were more intent upon running away themselves, than upon killing any of us."*

I asked, if during the retreat from Moscow, he had ever been in danger of being taken by the Cossacs? "Never," replied Napoleon, "I had always with me a guard sufficient to repel any attack, or even to admit of any apprehension as to the result in case one was made."

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* It has been said, that on the same night, when the French had in their turn stormed the village of Brienne, Blucher and his staff fell in with a party of their cavalry, and were prevented from having been taken by two Cossacs who had seen them, and who stopped Blucher at the foot of a flight of stairs when on the point of going out, who otherwise would have been killed or made prisoner. That they had drawn their swords, and were prepared to fall upon the French, but after having made a *réconnoissance,* they were found to be so numerous, as not to admit of a probability of success. This, if true, forms a singular coincidence with what I have related above, but as I had it from Sir Hudson Lowe, I cannot of course be responsible for the correctness of the statement. Sir Hudson Lowe also informed me of what, according to his ideas, was a praiseworthy specimen of the utter contempt in which Blucher held the French nation, in the following terms: "At the time when Blucher made his first hostile entrance into France, the mayor of the town he occupied waited upon him to offer his services to procure whatever he might want, as is customary under similar circumstances. When the Prussian general had heard his business, his reply was, 'Bring me a wench!'"

13*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. In very good spirits. After some conversation on the subject of what had been lately published respecting him, "I suppose," said he, "that when you go to England, you will publish *your* book. You certainly have a better right to publish about me than Warden, and you can say, that you have heard me say many things, and have had long conversations with me. You would gain a great deal of money, and every body would believe you. Truly, no French physician has ever been so much about me as you have been. I saw them only for a few minutes. The world is anxious to know every little circumstance of a man that has happened to make any figure in it, such as all the little trifles about how he eats, drinks, sleeps, his general habits, and manners. People are more anxious to learn those *sottises* than to know what good or bad qualities he may possess. *Pour moi, il suffit de dire la verité.*"

Napoleon walked out about five, and paid a visit to Countess Montholon. He remained a few minutes looking at Captain Poppleton, who was busily employed in digging some potatoes out of a little garden that we had endeavoured to cultivate in front of the house.

14*th*.—Napoleon in very good humour. Told him that a letter had appeared in the French papers, which was attributed to Marquis Montchenu, stating that upon his arrival, he (Napoleon) had given him an invitation to dine, to which he had replied, that he had been sent to St. Helena to guard, and not to dine with him. "*Ces messieurs sont toujours les mêmes*," replied the emperor, "it is very likely that he has been *bête* enough to write it. Those old French noblesse are capable of any *bêtise*. He is worthy of being one of the *grande naissance** of France."

Mentioned to him that in one of the papers it had been stated, that Sir George Cockburn had gone to Paris, impressed with a poor opinion of his (Napoleon's) abilities, and had said, that on the score of talent, he was an ordinary character, and by no means to be feared. Napoleon replied, "probably and with reason he does not suppose me to be a God, or to be endowed with supernatural talents; but I will venture to say that he gives me credit for possessing *some*. If he has really expressed the opinion attributed to him, it pays a poor compliment to the discernment of the greatest part of the world."

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* The contemptuous manner in which the marquis generally expressed himself of any person who was not able to count some hundred years of nobility in his family, was notorious in St. Helena.

He then desired me to get him the paper which contained the report of Sir George Cockburn's opinion, adding that he was now so much accustomed to read libels, that he cared but little what was said, or what calumnies were published about him.

"The people of England with difficulty will believe," added he, "that I not only read those libels without anger, but even laugh at them. From the violence of temper which has been attributed to me, I suppose they think that I must be worked up by rage to fits of madness. They are mistaken; they only excite my laughter. *La verité seule blesse.*"

I asked him about the affair of Palm, and said, I had been informed that he had given a satisfactory explanation of every sanguinary act, excepting that, that he had been accused of having committed. Napoleon replied, "I never have been asked any explanation about it. All that I recollect is, that Palm was arrested by order of Davoust, I believe, tried, condemned, and shot, for having, while the country was in possession of the French, and under military occupation, not only excited rebellion amongst the inhabitants, and urged them to rise and massacre the soldiers, but also attempted to instigate the soldiers themselves to refuse obedience to their orders, and to mutiny against their generals. I believe that he met with a fair trial. I should like," continued he, "to read the principal libels which have been published against me in England, if I could have them in French. There is Pelletier," added he, laughing, "who *proves* that I was *myself* the contriver of the infernal machine."

Major Hodson paid a visit to Countess Bertrand: Informed her that both himself and his wife would be most happy to call frequently upon her; but that insinuations had been made to him that it would not be liked at Plantation House.

15th.—Sir Hudson Lowe gave directions to Captain Poppleton, that General Bonaparte, or any of his suite might go unaccompanied along the road to Woody Range, and to Miss Mason's; but that they were not permitted to quit the path, and that they might re-enter Longwood at the bottom of the wood. That the two sentinels at the end of the wood were still to remain. He then asked what were the orders of those sentinels? Captain Poppleton replied, "to let no person in or out of Longwood." Sir Hudson desired that those orders should *still be continued in force,* adding, that he did not think that the path by which the French were to be permitted to enter was *near* enough to the sentinels to allow them to interfere with them. He desired also that the sentinels should be posted a little before sun-set.

Cipriani in town, making the usual purchases of provisions.

16th.—Saw the emperor in the drawing-room. He was in extremely good spirits, laughed repeatedly, joked with me on a supposed attachment to a fair damsel, and endeavoured to speak some English. Said that he had seen Lady Bingham the day before, but that she could not speak French; that she "looked good tempered."

"Bertrand," said Napoleon, "has told me that the governor has at last sent up his answers. They are full of imbecility. I have not read them myself, but from what Bertrand tells me, they are a very poor production, and would make one pity the writer who covers over so many pages without arriving at any conclusion. He asserts that he never has signed a pass for one day only, when the fact is, that numbers of persons have shewn the passes signed by him to Bertrand, and pointed out to him that the day was specifically marked, and consequently begged of him to interest himself to induce me to see them on that day, as they could not enter Longwood upon any other. *Si fa pietà di lui.*"*

Napoleon then spoke at length about Talleyrand. "The triumph of Talleyrand," said he, "is the triumph of immorality. A priest united to another man's wife, and who has paid her husband a large sum of money to leave her with him. A man who has sold every thing, betrayed every body and every side. I forbade Madame Talleyrand the court, first, because she was a disreputable character, and because I found out that some Genoese merchants had paid her four hundred thousand francs, in hopes of gaining some commercial favours by means of her husband. She was a very fine woman, English or East Indian, but *sotte* and grossly ignorant. I sometimes asked Denon, whose works I suppose you have read, to breakfast with me, as I took pleasure in his conversation, and conversed very freely with him. Now all the intriguers and speculators paid their court to Denon, with a view of inducing him to mention their projects or themselves in the course of his conversations with me, thinking that even being mentioned by such a man as Denon, for whom I had a great esteem, might materially serve them. Talleyrand, who was a great speculator, invited Denon to dinner. When he went home to his wife he said, 'my dear, I have invited Denon to dine. He is a great traveller, and you must say something handsome to him about his travels, as he may be useful to us with the emperor.' His wife being extremely ignorant, and probably never having read any other book of travels than that of Robinson Crusoe, concluded that Denon could be nobody else than Robinson. Wishing to be very civil to him, she, before a large company, asked him divers questions about his man Friday! Denon, astonished, did not know what to think at first, but at length discovered by her questions that she really imagined him to be Robinson Crusoe. His astonishment and that of the company cannot be described, nor the peals of laughter which it excited in Paris, as the story flew like wildfire through the city, and *even* Talleyrand *himself* was ashamed of it.

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* Meaning, that it makes one pity him.

"The doctor has said," continued he, "that I turned Mahometan in Egypt. Now it is not the case. I never followed any of the tenets of that religion. I never prayed in the mosques. I never abstained from wine, or was circumcised, neither did I ever profess it. I said merely that we were the friends of the Mussulmen, and that I respected Mahomet their prophet, which was true; I respect him now. I wanted to make the Imans cause prayers to be offered up in the mosques for me, in order to make the people respect me still more than they actually did, and obey me more readily. The Imans replied, that there was a great obstacle, because their prophet in the Koran had inculcated to them that they were not to obey, respect, or hold faith with infidels, and that I came under that denomination. I then desired them to hold a consultation, and see what was necessary to be done in order to become a Mussulman, as some of their tenets could not be practised by us. That as to circumcision, God had made us unfit for that. That with respect to drinking wine, we were poor cold people, inhabitants of the north, who could not exist without it. Therefore that we could neither circumcise nor abstain from wine. They consulted together accordingly, and in about three weeks issued a Fetham, declaring that circumcision might be omitted, because it was merely a profession; that as to drinking wine, it might be drunk by Mussulmen, but that those who drank it would not go to paradise, but to hell. I replied that this would not do; that we had no occasion to make ourselves Mussulmen in order to go to hell, that there were many ways of getting there without coming to Egypt, and desired them to hold another consultation. Well, after deliberating and battling together for I believe three months, they finally decided that a man might become a Mussulman, and neither circumcise, nor abstain from wine; but that in proportion to the wine drunk, some good works must be done. I then told them that we were all Mussulmen and friends of the prophet, which they readily believed, as the French soldiers never went to church, and had no priests with them. For you must know that during the revolution there was no religion whatever in the French army. Menou," continued Napoleon, "really turned Mahometan, which was the reason that I left him behind."

He then spoke about some of the plans that he had had in contemplation for making canals of communication in Egypt. "I intended," said he, "to have made two, one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and the other to the Mediterranean. I had the Red Sea surveyed, and found that its waters were thirty feet higher than the Mediterranean when they were highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. My plan was to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal unless at low water, and this in the course of a distance of thirty leagues in its passage to the Mediterranean would have been of little consequence. Besides, I would have had some sluices made. The Nile was seven feet lower than the Red Sea, when at its lowest, but fourteen feet higher (I think he said) during the inundation. The expense was calculated at eighteen millions of francs, and two years' labour. It is only," continued he, "the ignorance and barbarity of the Turks which prevents your India trade from being ruined. If any European nation had possession of Egypt, it would speedily be effected, and one day or another Egypt will destroy the East India Company. If Kleber had lived you would never have conquered it. He would have had the army down from Cairo in nine days, and would have overwhelmed you. If I had been there myself, I would have brought the troops down in seven days, and have been on the coast before you had disembarked. I had done so before, when the Turks landed with Sydney Smith."

I asked if he had not saved Menou's life after the 13th of Vendémiaire? He replied, "I certainly was the means of saving his life. The convention ordered him to be tried, and he would have been guillotined; I was then commander-in-chief of Paris. Thinking it very unjust that Menou only should suffer, while three *commissaires* of the convention, under whose orders he acted, were left untried and unpunished; but not venturing to say openly that he ought to be acquitted, (for," continued he, "in those terrible times a man who told the truth lost his head,) I had recourse to a stratagem. I invited the members who were trying him to breakfast, and turned the conversation upon Menou. I said, that he had acted very wrong, and deserved to be condemned to death; but that first, the commissioners of the convention must be tried and condemned, as he had acted by their orders, and all must suffer. This had the desired effect. The members of the court said, 'We will not allow those civilians to bathe themselves in our blood, while they allow their own commissioners, who are more culpable, to escape with impunity.' Menou was immediately declared innocent." I then asked how many men he supposed had lost their lives in the business of the 13th Vendémiaire? He replied, "Very few, considering the circumstances. Of the people, there were about seventy or eighty killed, and between three and four hundred wounded; of the conventionalists, about thirty killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded. The reason there was so few killed, was, that after the first two discharges, I made the troops load with powder only, which had the effect of frightening the Parisians, and answered as well as killing them would have done. I made the troops at first fire ball, because to a rabble who are ignorant of the effect of fire-arms, it is the worst possible policy to fire powder only in the beginning. For the populace after the first discharge, hearing a great noise, are a little frightened, but looking around them, and seeing nobody killed or wounded, pluck up their spirits, begin immediately to despise you, become doubly outrageous, and rush on without fear, and it is necessary to kill ten times the number that it would have been, had ball been used at first. For, with a rabble, every thing depends upon the first impressions made upon them. If they receive a discharge of fire-arms, and perceive the killed and wounded falling amongst them, a panic seizes them, they take to their heels instantly, and vanish in a moment.

Therefore, when it is necessary to fire at all, it ought to be done with ball at first. It is a mistaken instance of humanity to use powder only at that moment, and instead of saving the lives of men, ultimately causes an unnecessary waste of human blood."

17*th.*—Napoleon walked round the house for a short time.

A letter written by Captain Poppleton to Sir Hudson Lowe, informing his excellency that the horses of the establishment had been three days without receiving any hay, and that for a length of time they had had no litter. Also, that the stuff sent as hay, was grass recently cut, with occasionally a large portion of cow-grass* mixed with it. That upon allowing fifty pounds of the said miscalled hay to dry for two days, it only weighed, with the rope which bound it, twenty pounds, according to a very accurate trial made by himself. That in consequence, he had directed the grooms to go and cut some grass if they could find any, as the horses were starving.

18*th.*—Napoleon in very good humour. Joked with me for some time about St. Patrick, and endeavoured to speak some English, in which he succeeded better than I had ever observed before. I said, that I had remarked divers of his expressions in some of the French bulletins. That from having had the honour of being accustomed to speak to him, I had recognized some of them, and took the liberty of asking him if he had not occasionally written them? He replied, "Where have you seen them?" I answered, at the governor's, and that I had particularly remarked his forcible expressions in the bulletin announcing the burning of Moscow. He laughed, gave me a gentle pull by the ear, and said, "You are right. Some of them are mine."

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* A species of inferior coarse grass, which horses will not eat.

Napoleon then observed, "Your ministers will not be able to impose always upon the nation. Because they are afraid of me, and think that I have some talent, and because I have been always at war with them, and that I have made France greater than ever she was before, they fear that I might do so again, and as any thing for the advantage of France would be disadvantageous to them, they endeavour by all means to prevent it, by putting a set of *imbecilles* on the throne, under whom France must necessarily decay. In order to find an excuse for sending me here, and to give a colour to their proceedings, they seek all means of blackening my character. Mark me, the English themselves will be the first to justify me, and to vindicate my character from the calumnies which their ministers have thrown upon it. Posterity will revenge me. Recollect my words, and recollect that this is not the first time that I have told you so."

"I am told," added he, "that there is twenty thousand pounds worth of iron railing sent out. It is money thrown into the sea. Before this railing can be fixed up here, I shall be under ground, for I am sure that I shall not hold out more than two years under the treatment that I experience."

"If," continued Napoleon, "my greatest enemies knew the way in which I am treated, they would compassionate me. Millions in Europe will weep for my lot when it is known, and known it will be, in spite of the endeavours of this governor to envelope every thing in secrecy and mystery. He shews how little he knows of England by thinking to effect this. A man who has always been accustomed to be amongst a set of low, vagabond deserters and brigands, where his word was a law. On a band of poor ignorant wretches like those, who trembled at the sight of him, and whom he could threaten to send back to their own country to be shot, he might impose secrecy. Like a man putting his hat over a candle, he could then conceal the light, but now his endeavours resemble those of one who would attempt to obscure and hide the light of the sun by holding his hat before it. He has nothing English about him, either within or without. He badly serves his government, who are desirous that as little as possible should be said about me, but he takes the most certain method of effecting the contrary."

Sir Hudson Lowe very busy inspecting the ditches and other works he had ordered to be thrown up about Longwood House and the stables.

19*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his bath. He was reading a little book, which I perceived to be a French New Testament. I could not help observing to him, that many people would not believe that he would read such a book, as it had been asserted and credited by some that he was an unbeliever. Napoleon laughed and replied, "*Cependant ce n'est pas vrai. Je suis loin d'être Athée.* (Nevertheless, it is not true. I am far from being an Atheist.) In spite of all the iniquities and frauds of the teachers of religion, who are eternally preaching up that their kingdom is not of this world, and yet seize every thing which they can lay their hands upon, from the time that I arrived at the head of the government, I did every thing in my power to re-establish religion. But I wished to render it the foundation and prop of morality and good principles, and not *à prendre l'essor* of the human laws. Man has need of something wonderful. It is better for him to seek it in religion than in M^{lle} le Normand.* Moreover, religion is a great consolation and resource to those who possess it, and no man can pronounce what he will do in his last moments."

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* A celebrated fortune-teller at Paris, consulted by emperors and kings.

Napoleon then made some remarks upon the conduct of the governor, whom he declared to be a man totally unfit for his situation. "If he were," said he, "he might make it pleasant and interesting. He might spend much of his time with me, and get great information with respect to past occurrences, with which no other person could be so well acquainted or so satisfactorily account for. You see what I am, *dottore.* Even unknown to myself, he would imperceptibly have opportunities of getting information from me, which would be very desirable to his ministers, and which I am certain they have ordered him to obtain, and that he burns to know. If I had really any intention of effecting my escape from this place, instead of disagreeing with him I would caress and flatter him, endeavour to be on the best terms, go to Plantation House, call on his wife, and try to made him believe that I was contented, and thereby lull his suspicions asleep. In fact, this governor *è un imbecille che sa scrivere* (he is an imbecile who knows how to write). Every person, however *imbecille,* has some kind of talent: one for music, another for drawing, another for some mechanical art, and this imbecile for writing *(per lo scrivere).*"

I said that I could not deny that Sir Hudson Lowe was hasty, and allowed the fear of his (Napoleon's) making his escape to get the better of his understanding, but that he was not devoid of talent. That he had said his situation was one of great delicacy, his responsibility great, and his orders rigid. That he had desired me to say, that Las Cases had confessed that the French about his person had made him see every thing *par un voile de sang*. "*Les bêtes même ont leurs talens*," replied the emperor. "As to his saying, that I was made to see every thing *à travers d'un voile de sang, ma foi, partout où l'on voit le bourreau, on voit du sang*. Las Cases certainly was greatly irritated against him, and contributed materially towards forming the impression existing upon my mind, because Las Cases is a man of a feeling mind, and extremely sensible to the ill treatment which has been put in practice towards me and himself. But I had no occasion for the assistance of Las Cases towards giving me that opinion, as the treatment I experienced was fully sufficient in itself to create it, and Montholon has merely written according to my orders."

20th.—Saw Napoleon in his bed-room in his morning gown. He spoke at length about some statements in Warden's book. "At one time I had appointed Talleyrand," said he, "to proceed on a mission to Warsaw, in order to arrange and organize the best method of accomplishing the separation of Poland from Russia. He had several conferences with me respecting this mission, which was a great surprise to the ministers, as Talleyrand had no official character at the time. Having married one of his relations to the Duchess of Courland, Talleyrand was very anxious to receive the appointment, that he might revive the claims of the Duchess's family. However, some money transactions of his were discovered at Vienna, which convinced me that he was carrying on his old game of corruption, and determined me not to employ him on the intended mission. I had designed at one time to have made him a cardinal, with which he refused to comply. Madame Grant threw herself twice upon her knees before me, in order to obtain permission to marry him, which I refused; but through the intreaties of Josephine, she succeeded on the second application. I afterwards forbade her the court, when I discovered the Genoa affair, of which I told you before. Latterly," continued he, "Talleyrand sunk into contempt."

"Ney," said he, "never made use of haughty language at Fontainbleau in my presence; on the contrary, he was always submissive before me, although in my absence he sometimes broke out into violence, as he was a man without education. If he had made use of unbecoming language towards me at Fontainbleau, the troops would have torn him to pieces."

"Lavalette," added Napoleon, "knew nothing of my intended return from Elba, or of what was hatching there. Madame Lavalette was of the family of Beauharnais. She was a very fine woman. Louis my brother fell in love with and wanted to marry her; to prevent which I caused her to espouse Lavalette to whom she was attached."

"When Lavalette was director of posts," continued Napoleon, "I was desirous to be made acquainted with the sentiments of the nation relative to my administration. I appointed twelve persons, all of different ways of thinking, some jacobins, others royalists, some republicans, imperialists, &c. with a salary of a thousand francs a month, whose business it was to make monthly reports to Lavalette of the opinions which they had heard expressed and their own, relative to the public acts. These reports were brought to me unopened by Lavalette. After reading, and making extracts when necessary, I burned them. This was conducted so secretly, that even the ministers did not know of it."

Napoleon added, that he had never told Ney that he had entered France with the privity and support of England; that on the contrary he had always disclaimed and reprobated the idea of returning by the aid of foreign bayonets, and had come purposely to overturn a dynasty upheld by them. That all he looked for was the support of the French nation, to which all his proclamations would bear witness. He afterwards delivered the following history of Pichegru's conspiracy.

"The doctor has given a very imperfect account of the part taken by Captain Wright in the conspiracy against me. In different nights of August, September, and December, 1803, and January, 1804, Wright landed Georges, Pichegru, Rivière, Coster, St. Victor, La Haye, St. Hilaire, and others, at Beville. The four last named had been accomplices in the former attempt to assassinate me by means of the infernal machine, and most of the rest were well known to be chiefs of the Chouans. They remained during the day in a little farm-house near to where they had landed, the proprietor of which had been bribed to assist them. They travelled only by night, pretending to be smugglers, concealing themselves in the daytime in lodgings which had been previously procured for them. They had plenty of money, and remained at Paris for some time without being discovered, although the police had some intimation that a plot was going on, through Mehée de la Touche, who although paid as a spy by your ministers,* disclosed every thing to the French police. He had several conferences with Drake, your charge d'affaires at Munich, from whom he received large sums of money. Some of the brigands who had been landed were arrested and interrogated. By their answers it appeared that a man named Mussey, who lived at Offembourg, along with the Duke d'Enghien, was very active in corresponding with and sending money to those who had been secretly landed on the coasts; and most of whom could give no good reason why they had ventured to return to Paris at the imminent hazard of their lives, as they had not been included in the amnesty. The list of the prisoners and their answers on examination were submitted to me. I was very anxious, and on looking over it one night, I remarked that one of the number named Querel, was stated to be a surgeon. It immediately struck me that this man was not actuated by enthusiasm, or by a spirit of party, but by the hope of gain. He will therefore be more likely to confess than any of the others; and the fear of death will probably induce him to betray his accomplices. I ordered him to be tried as a Chouan; and according to the laws, he was condemned to death. It was not a mock trial, as Warden thought: on the contrary, while leading to execution, he demanded to be heard, and promised to make important disclosures. Information of this was brought to me by Lauriston, and Querel was conducted back to prison, where he was interrogated by the grand judge Réal. He confessed that he had come from England, and had been landed in August, 1803, from Wright's ship, along with Georges and several others. That Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the first consul. He also pointed out the houses where the other conspirators and himself had stopped on their way to Paris. Police officers were immediately sent to the place he had designated; and from the result of their inquiries it appeared that he had told the truth, and that since the time he had described, two other landings of similar gentry had been effected by Wright, with the last of whom there had been some person of consequence whose name they could not discover, and that they soon expected another cargo. The Duke of Rovigo, as I told you once before, was immediately sent to Beville with a party of the police, in the hope of being able to seize them. An emigrant, named Bouvet de Lozier, who has since been employed at the Isle of France, was also arrested. After he had been confined for some weeks he became desperate and hung himself in the prison one morning. The gaoler, who heard an uncommon noise in his room, went in and cut him down before life had departed. While he was recovering his senses he burst out into incoherent exclamations, that Moreau had brought Pichegru from London. That he was a traitor, and had persuaded them that all the army were for him, and that he would prove the cause of their destruction. Those expressions excited an alarm. The police knew that a brother of Pichegru's who had once been a monk, lived in Paris. He was arrested and examined. He avowed that he had seen his brother a day or two before, and asked if it were a crime? Moreau was immediately arrested, and large rewards were offered by the police for the apprehension of Georges and Pichegru. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who came to the police and offered to deliver him into their hands for a hundred thousand francs paid on the spot. Georges still continued to elude the vigilance of the police. I proclaimed the city of Paris to be in a state of siege, and no person was allowed to quit it unless by day, and through certain barriers, where were stationed people to whom the persons of the conspirators were familiar. About three weeks afterwards, Georges was betrayed and taken, after having shot one of the men who tried to arrest him. All his accomplices were subsequently taken. Pichegru did not deny having been employed by the Bourbons and behaved with great audacity. Afterwards finding his case desperate, he strangled himself in the prison. The rest of the conspirators were publicly tried in the month of May before the tribunal of the department of the Seine, and in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors in Paris. Georges, Polignac, Rivière, Coster, and sixteen or seventeen others were found guilty of having conspired against the life of the chief magistrate of the French nation, and condemned to death. Georges, Coster, and seven or eight more were executed. Rivière was pardoned, partly by the prayers of Murat. I pardoned some of the others also. Moreau was condemned to two years imprisonment, which was commuted into banishment to America. Jules de Polignac, confidant of the Count d'Artois, and many others, were also condemned to imprisonment.

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* Napoleon informed me that Mehée had received from Mr. Drake and other official persons nearly 200,000 francs.

" It was discovered," continued Napoleon, " by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the Duke d'Enghien was an accomplice, and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France for the news of my assassination, upon receiving which he was to have entered France as the king's lieutenant. Was I to suffer that the Count d'Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me, and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country that I governed to profit by my assassination. According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to cause him to be assassinated in retaliation for the numerous attempts of the kind that he had before caused to be made against me. I gave orders to have him seized. He was tried and condemned by a law made long before I had any power in France. He was tried by a military commission formed of all the colonels of the regiments then in garrison at Paris. He was accused of having borne arms against the republic, which he did not deny. When before the tribunal, he behaved with great bravery. When he arrived at Strasburg, he wrote a letter to me, in which he offered to discover every thing if pardon were granted to him, said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to me. This letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it until after his execution. Had the Count d'Artois been in his place he would have suffered the same fate; and were I now placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner. As the police," added Napoleon, "did not like to trust to the evidence of Mehée de la Touche alone, they sent Captain Rosey, (a man in whose integrity they had every confidence,) to Drake at Munich, with a letter from Mehée, which procured him an interview, the result of which confirmed Mehée's statement, that he was concerned in a plot to *terrasser le premier consul*, no matter by what means."*

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* While the Duke d'Enghien was on his trial, Madame la Maréchal Bessière said to Colonel Ordèner, who had arrested him, "Are there no possible means to save that *malheureux ?* Has his

23rd.—Napoleon dressed and in the billiard-room. In very good humour. Gave him some libels upon himself. They were all in French, and amongst others was "*Mémoires secrets*," "*Bonaparte peint par lui-même*," and which excited his laughter.

Napoleon then asked several questions about the governor. I said that Sir Hudson had desired me to say, a few days ago, that he had every wish to accommodate, and that he thought that Las Cases, Warden, and Mrs. Skelton,* and some others, had been the means of producing much ill-blood, and a great deal of misunderstanding. Napoleon replied, "*S'inganna* (he is deceived). In the first place, it was the badness of his physiognomy *(era sua cattiva faccia)*; next his wanting to force me to receive the visit of an officer twice in the twenty-

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guilt been established beyond a doubt?" "Madame," replied Colonel Ordêner, "I found in his house sacks of papers sufficient to compromise the half of France."—The duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light as has been represented.

* Mrs. Skelton was accused by the governor of having told Napoleon one day at dinner, that from experience she knew he would not always find Longwood pleasant. That at certain times of the year it was a damp, disagreeable, bleak, and unhealthy residence; as a proof of which, she mentioned that she never could succeed in rearing poultry there; while down in the company's garden, situated in a sheltered valley, about four hundred yards distant, she had no difficulty in bringing them up. Mrs. Skelton and family had resided at Longwood a few months in each year for four or five years before Napoleon arrived.

four hours; then the letter to Bertrand; his wishing that I should send you away, and to give me a surgeon of his own choice; the manner in which he spoke to me about the wooden house; his letters full of softness, accompanying the train of vexations which followed; and his always leaving something doubtful which he could afterwards interpret as best suited his views. In fact, he wanted, by shewing that he could render things disagreeable, to compel us to bend, and submissively demand pardon of him, go to Plantation House, and be his very humble servants."

"It appears that Warden has been informed," added Napoleon, "that I applied some lines of Shakespeare to Madame Montholon. You well know that I could not then, nor can I now, quote English verse, nor have I ever intended to convey a reflection on Madame Montholon. On the contrary, I think that she possesses more firmness and *caractère* than most of her sex."

24*th.*—Napoleon complained of swellings in his legs, for which I recommended some simple remedies, which he put in practice.

He afterwards observed that he had been reading all yesterday the Secret Memoirs of himself, Pichon's work, &c. "These libels," said he, "have done me more good than harm in France, because they irritated the nation both against the writers, and the Bourbons who paid them, by representing me as a monster, and by the improbable and scandalous falsehoods they contained against me, and the government under me, which were degrading to them as a nation. Even Chateaubriand has done me good by his work. Pichon, the author of the State of France under Bonaparte, had been consul in America, and was disgraced by me for having embezzled three millions, part of which he was obliged to refund, as I was very particular with consuls and other agents, and always examined their accounts myself. This Pichon, after he had published his libel, was sent by me to London as a spy after my return from Elba; at least, he was so far sent by me, that I suffered it, because, although he was *un coquin*, he had some *esprit*, and on account of the nature of his writings, would not be suspected. You see what dependence is to be placed upon writers of libels. This man, who in 1814 had written such a libel against me, went in 1815 as a spy for the police of the very person whom he had so grossly libelled."

25th.—Napoleon in his bath. His legs much better. In very good spirits. "It appears, Mr. Doctor," said he, "from the books you lent me, that at a very early age I poisoned a girl; that I poisoned others for the mere pleasure of poisoning; that I assassinated Desaix, Kleber, the Duke of Abrantes, and I know not how many others:

that I went to the army of Italy, consisting of some thousand galley-slaves, who were extremely happy to see me, as being one of their fraternity. It is surprising what things are believed on both sides, in consequence of not having had communication with each other. In France, if a house was burnt down, the vulgar attributed it to the English. Pitt, Pitt, was the cry directly. Nothing could persuade the French *canaille* that the conflagration at Lyon had not been effected by the English. In like manner, you English believed every thing bad of me, which belief was always encouraged by your ministers. Your * * * * also, with the exception of Fox, who was sincere in his desire for peace, encouraged * * * against me." Here I made some observations in disbelief of the assertion, to which Napoleon replied, "When they furnished ships to land, and money to support, men whose professed object was to assassinate me, was not that being privy to it?" I said that they had furnished ships and money to assist in accomplishing a revolution, but without having known that assassination formed part of their plans. "Doctor," replied Napoleon, "you are a child. They knew it well. Fifty or sixty brigands, the most of them notorious for assassination, could have no other mode of effecting a revolution. They had republished in London at the same time a book called, '*Killing no Murder*.'

which had been originally printed in Cromwell's time; for the purpose of inculcating a belief that assassinating me was not only not a crime, but that it would be a praiseworthy and meritorious action. Fox indeed was of a contrary opinion. That great man wrote to Talleyrand, and informed him that a *coquin* had come that morning to him with a proposal to assassinate me."

"When I was at Elba," added Napoleon, "I was visited by an English nobleman, a Catholic, about thirty years old, and from Northumberland, I believe. He had dined a few weeks before with the Duke de Fleury, with whom he had a conversation relative to the sum of money to be allowed me annually by France, according to the agreement that had been signed by the ministers of the allied powers. The duke laughed at him for supposing for a moment that it would be complied with, and said, that they were not such fools. This was one of the reasons which induced me to quit Elba. I do not believe that Castlereagh thought I would have ventured to leave it, as otherwise some frigates would have been stationed about the island. If they had kept a frigate in the harbour, and another outside, it would have been impossible for me to have gone to France, except alone, which I never would have attempted. If even the king of France had ordered a frigate with a picked crew to cruise off the island, it would have prevented me." I asked if he thought that it had been the intention of the allies to have sent him to St. Helena? "Why," replied the emperor, "it was much spoken of. However, Colonel Campbell denied it. They must have sent an army to take me, I could have held out for some months. But there were many violations of the treaty of Fontainbleau by the allies, which authorized and obliged me to take the step I did. Independent of what I have told you, it was stipulated and agreed to, that all the members of my family should be allowed to follow me to Elba; but in violation of that, my wife and child were seized, detained, and never permitted to join a husband and a father. They were also to have had the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which they were deprived of. By the treaty Prince Eugene was to have had a principality in Italy, which was never given. My mother and brothers were to receive pensions, which were also refused to them. My own private property, and the savings which I had made on the civil list, were to have been preserved for me. Instead of that, they were seized in the hands of Labouillerie, the treasurer, contrary to the treaty, and all claims made by me rejected. The private property of my family was to be held sacred; it was confiscated. The dotations assigned to the army on the Mont Napoleon, were to be preserved, they were suppressed; nor were the hundred thousand francs, which were to be given as pensions to persons pointed out by me, ever paid. Moreover, assassins were sent to Elba to murder me. Never," continued Napoleon, "have the terms of a treaty been more evidently violated, and, indeed, openly scoffed at, than those were by the allies, and yet your ministers had the impudence to tell the nation, that I was the first violator of the treaty of Fontainbleau."

I observed that the allies had given as a reason for their conduct towards him, that he had aimed at universal dominion. "No," replied the emperor, "I certainly wished to render France the most powerful nation in the world, but no further. I did not aim at universal dominion. It was my intention to have made Italy an independent kingdom. There are natural bounds for France, which I did not intend to pass. It was my object to prevent England from being able to go to war with France, without assistance from some of the great continental powers, without which, indeed, she ought never to venture."

Had some conversation about Ferdinand of Spain. "When Ferdinand was at Valençay," said Napoleon, "he always expressed great hatred of the English, and declared, that the first thing he would do, on his return to Spain, would be to re-establish the Inquisition. You English will find one day, that by restoring him, you have done yourselves a great national injury. While at Valençay, he said that he would prefer remaining in France to returning to Spain, and wrote several times to me, begging of me to adopt and give him a Frenchwoman in marriage."

"I observe now," added he, "that as your ministers and the Bourbonists cannot any longer deny that I have done some good to France, they endeavour to turn it, by saying, that whatever good I effected was done through the persuasions of Josephine. For example, they say that it was Josephine who induced me to recal the emigrants. Now the fact is, that Josephine was the most amiable and the best of women, but she never interfered with politics. Their object is to persuade the world that I am incapable of a good action. But your English travellers will produce a great change in the opinion of their nation."

Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, Captains Stanfell and Festing, of the navy, came up and had an interview with Napoleon. When they came out, Captain ** expressed his astonishment at finding Napoleon so different a person to what he was reported. "Instead of being a rough, impatient, and imperious character," said he, "I found him to be mild, gentle in his manner, and one of the pleasantest men I ever saw. I shall *never* forget him, nor how different he is from the idea I had been led to form of him."

Sir Pulteney Malcolm expressed to me his ardent wish that matters might be accommodated between Napoleon and the governor, adding, that two opportunities of effecting it would soon present themselves, viz. the arrival of Lord Amherst, and of Admiral Plampin; that he much wished that *both* should be introduced by Sir Hudson Lowe, and, indeed, thought that Lord Amherst could not be introduced by any other person.

Napoleon, accompanied by Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, and their husbands, walked down into the wood. On their return, chairs were brought out and placed in front of the billiard-room, where they remained for some time after sun-set.

26*th*.—Napoleon conversed a good deal about the battle of Waterloo. "The plan of the battle," said he, "will not in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place, he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading to the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing any thing about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shewn that vigour and genius which they had displayed in other times, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied that they saw an army of a hundred thousand men everywhere opposed to them. I had not time enough myself to attend to the *minutiæ* of the army. I accounted upon surprising and cutting them up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock; but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favour. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me, I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about seventy thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were cavalry. I had also two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good, that I esteemed them sufficient to beat a hundred and twenty thousand. Now Lord Wellighton had under his command about ninety thousand, and two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and Bulow had thirty thousand, making a hundred and twenty thousand. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from thirty-five to forty thousand. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the continent; and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left thirty-four thousand men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten, and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them; instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this, the English attack succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve, which however occurred here, whether in consequence of treason, or not, I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

"If Lord Wellington had entrenched himself," continued he, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not shew talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy; but a little must be taken away even from that when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that, had he made the attempt, not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest obstinacy and courage, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blucher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit due as a general; because he, although beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but in the eye of the historian, his military reputation will gain nothing by it."

Napoleon then spoke about the libels upon himself which I had collected for him. "As yet," said he, "you have not procured me one that is worthy of an answer. Would you have me sit down and reply to Goldsmith, Pichon, or the Quarterly Review? They are so contemptible and so absurdly false, that they do not merit any other notice than to write *faux, faux*, in every page. The only truth I have seen in them is, that one day I met an officer, Rapp, I believe, in the field of battle, with his face covered with blood, and that I cried, *oh, comme il est beau!* This is true enough; and of it they have made a crime. My admiration of the gallantry of a brave soldier is construed into a crime, and a proof of my delighting in blood. But posterity will do me that justice which is denied to me now. If I were that tyrant, that monster, would the people and the army have flown to join me with the enthusiasm they shewed when I landed from Elba with a handful of men? Could I have marched to Paris, and have seated myself upon the throne without a musquet having been fired? Ask the French nation? Ask the Italian?"

"I have," continued he, "been twice married. Political motives induced me to divorce my first wife, whom I tenderly loved. She, poor woman, fortunately for herself, died in time to prevent her witnessing the last of my misfortunes. Let Marie Louise be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me, she avowed in the most feeling terms to *** her ardent desire to join me, extolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation, avowing her ardent desire to join me in my exile. Is this the result of the conduct of a merciless, unfeeling tyrant? A man is known by his conduct to his wife, to his family, and to those under him. I have doubtless erred more or less in politics, but a crime I have never committed. The doctor in his book makes me say that I never committed an useless crime, which is equivalent to saying that I have not scrupled to commit one when I had any object in view, which I deny altogether. I have never wished but the glory and the good of France. All my faculties were consecrated to that object, but I never employed crime or assassination to forward it."

"The Duke d'Enghien, who was engaged upon the frontiers of my territories in a plot to assassinate me, I caused to be seized and given up to justice which condemned him. He had a fair trial. Let your ministers and the Bourbons do their utmost to calumniate me, the truth will be discovered. *Le mensonge passe, la vérité reste.* Let them employ all dishonourable means like Lord C****, who, not content with sending me here, has had the baseness to make me speak and to put such words into my mouth as he thinks will best answer his views. *C'est un homme ignoble.* Perhaps they wish me to live for a short time, and do not put me to death, in order to make me say whatever will suit their purposes. The ruin of England was never my intention. We were enemies and I did my utmost to gain the upper hand. England did the same. After the treaty of Amiens I would always have made a peace, placing the two countries upon equal terms as to commercial relations."

I mentioned that I had conceived he had once expressed to me that his intentions had been to have united England to France, if he had found himself sufficiently powerful. He replied, "I said that I could not unite two nations so dissimilar. I intended, if I had succeeded in my projected descent, to have abolished the monarchy, and established a republic instead of the oligarchy by which you are governed. I would have separated Ireland from England; the former of which I would have made an independent republic. No, no; I would have left them to themselves after having sown the seeds of republicanism in their *morale*.

I told the emperor then, that Lord Amherst, (the late British ambassador to China,) was expected here in a few days. He said, he thought the English ministers had acted wrong in not having ordered him to comply with the customs of the place he was sent to, or otherwise not to have sent him at all. I observed, that the English would consider it as debasing to the nation, if

Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the manner required. That if such a point was conceded, the Chinese would probably not be contented, and would require similar ceremonies to be performed as those insisted upon by the Japanese, and complied with so disgracefully by the Dutch. That, besides, Lord Amherst was willing to pay the same obeisance to the emperor as he would do to his own king. Napoleon replied, " It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony, performed by all the great men of the nation to their chief, and the other is a national degradation required of strangers, and of strangers only. It is my opinion, that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, you kiss the king's hand at court. Such a thing in France would be considered ridiculous, and the person who did it would be held up to public scorn; but still the French ambassador who performed it in England, would not be considered to have degraded himself. In England, some hundred years back, the king was served kneeling, the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy, you kiss the pope's toe, yet it is not considered as a degradation. A man who goes into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use there, and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to have submitted to such ceremonies before the emperor of China, as are performed by the first mandarins of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such respect as was paid to his own king. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they must perform certain ceremonies, because such are practised in England. Suppose now, for the sake of example, that it were the custom in England, instead of kissing the king's hand, that he should offer his breech to be kissed by those who were presented to him; why then, forsooth, the Emperor of China must let down his breeches, ————————, because it was the practice in England."

These observations were delivered with such suitable action, and significant gestures, that I could not help, for some moments, giving vent very freely to laughter, in which the emperor good humouredly joined.

"If I," continued he, "had sent an ambassador to China, I would have ordered him to make himself acquainted with the ceremonies performed before the emperor, by the first mandarins; and, if required, to do the same himself, and no more. Now, perhaps, you will lose the friendship of the nation, and great commercial advantages, through this piece of nonsense." I said, that we could easily compel the Chinese to grant good terms by means of a few ships of war; that, for example, we could deprive them altogether of salt, by a few cruizers properly stationed. Napoleon replied, "It would be the worst thing you have done for a number of years, to go to war with an immense empire like China, and possessing so many resources. You would doubtless, at first, succeed, take what vessels they have, and destroy their trade; but you would teach them their own strength. They would be compelled to adopt measures to defend themselves against you; they would consider, and say, 'we must try to make ourselves equal to this nation. Why should we suffer a people, so far away, to do as they please to us? We must build ships, we must put guns into them, we must render ourselves equal to them.' They would," continued the emperor, "get artificers and ship-builders from France and America, and even from London; they would build a fleet, and, in the course of time, defeat you."

I observed that it was likely Lord Amherst would wait upon him. Napoleon replied, "if he is to be presented by the governor, or if the latter sends one of his staff with him, I will not receive him; if he comes with the admiral, I shall. Neither will I receive the new admiral if he is to be introduced by the governor. In his last letter there is an insult to us. He says, that we may go round by

Miss Mason's, but that we must not go off the main road.* Where is this main road? I never could find any. If I were obliged to step aside a few yards for any occasion I should be exposed to be shot at by a sentinel. The admiral, when he was here last, spoke like his advocate, and wanted me to receive him with Lord Amherst. I would not receive my own son if he were to be presented by him!"

27*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. Gave me some explanations touching what had been said of his having kept secret from his soldiers in Egypt for a long time that the plague had got into the army. "I," said he, "*once* touched a soldier in the hospital who was infected, with a view to convince the troops that the disease was not the plague; and I believe that I succeeded for fifteen days in persuading them that it was only a fever, with buboes. I rarely practised visiting the hospital," continued he, "as the extreme sensibility of my nose was such, that the smell always made me ill, on which account I was advised by Corvisart and my other physicians not to attempt it. Even during my campaigns in Europe I seldom visited them."

29*th.*—The emperor again in his bath. Conversed about the English manufacturers, blamed the ministers for not having availed themselves of circumstances that had existed to make a favourable commercial treaty with Spain and Portugal. "If," added he, "I were now on the throne of France, Ferdinand would be my friend. As long as the Spaniards and Portuguese retain their colonies in South America, so long will they be against England. The world is too enlightened to allow you to usurp the whole of the trade and manufactures. I, myself, during my reign, gave up near five hundred convents, without any payment, to individuals, on the sole condition of their engaging to establish a manufactory in each. Moreover, I lent them out of my own pocket upwards of fifty millions of francs to enable them to go on, which they were to retain for nine years, without paying any interest, after which term the principal was to be returned. In England, your machines are so numerous, that in a short time you would have had no occasion for hands." I observed, that the prevalence of machinery was one cause of the great distress in England. "But," replied Napoleon, "you were obliged to have recourse to the aid of machinery, because the necessaries of life are twice as dear in England as on the continent, and your taxes six times greater, and also because other nations have them. Otherwise, you could not have sold your manufactures as cheap as they could, and consequently would not find purchasers. In Germany and Switzerland, for example, there were a great number of machines."

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* The *main road* is a path impassable by wheel-carriages.

He spoke again about Lord Amherst, and observed, that it would be an insult to ask a Chinese ambassador if there were one in London, to perform similar ceremonies there, as were required of the English ambassador at Pekin, because it was not the custom of the country he was in. "For example," said he, "if the king of France were to require the English ambassador to kiss his hand, it would be an insult to him, because it is not the custom in France, although *his ambassador* did it in London. In like manner to ask a mandarin to perform a similar ceremony before king George's picture is a *bêtise* and an insult to China; because it is not the custom of the place. An ambassador is for the *affairs*, and not for the *ceremonies* of the country he belongs to. He becomes the same as one of the first nobles of the country he is in, and should conform to the same ceremonies. If any thing *more* were required of him, then indeed he ought to refuse his consent."

31*st.*—Dined at Plantation House in company with Count Balmaine, Baron and Baroness Sturmer, Captain Gor, &c. The commissioners very anxious to know something about Napoleon. Told Baron Sturmer, with whom I had a long conversation, that Napoleon had said when he read a letter in the newspapers which was attributed to the Marquis Montchenu, that it was another proof of the imbecility of *l'ancienne noblesse de France, que ces messieurs là sont toujours les mêmes.*

April 2nd.—Saw Napoleon, who was in tolerable spirits. I asked if it were true that he had been induced to quit Egypt by his having received private information that the directory purposed to get him assassinated there? "No," replied the emperor, "I never heard, or thought so; neither had the directory any intention of causing it to be done. They were jealous of me certainly, but they had no idea of the kind; and in the actual situation of France, I do not think that they wished it. I returned from Egypt because my presence was necessary to the republic, and because the first object of the expedition had been gained by the conquest of Egypt." I asked if the project had originated with him, or with the directory. "With both one and the other," replied Napoleon, "We both thought of it at the same time."

Told him what I had said to Baron Sturmer about Montchenu. "For the credit of France," said he, "they ought to have sent out amongst the English some person possessed of a little talent, instead of an old imbecile."

Mr. and Misses Churchill from India came up yesterday to see Madame Bertrand, for the purpose of having an interview with Napoleon. His excellency, however, took an effectual mode of preventing it, by sending up Sir Thomas Reade to accompany them. It is probable that Napoleon, who is very partial to female society, and was informed that the young ladies were highly accomplished, and spoke French fluently, would have managed to have met them *accidentally*, had not Sir Thomas been an attentive listener close to their sides during the whole time.

Captain Cook, of the Tortoise, and Mr. Mackenzie, midshipman of the same ship, came up to Longwood. Mr. Mackenzie had been midshipman on board of the Undaunted, Captain Usher, when the emperor took a passage in that ship to Elba. Capt. Cook told me, that after waiting some time on the look out, they saw Napoleon walking in the garden, who sent for and asked them many questions. He recollected Mr. Mackenzie, observed that he had grown much since he had seen him before, and made some inquiries about Capt. Usher. He asked Captain Cook how long he had been in the service? to which he replied, "Thirty years." He seemed surprised at this, and asked what actions? Cook mentioned, amongst others, Trafalgar. Napoleon asked the name of the ship he belonged to, and divers questions about the battle, where he came from, and concluded by asking him where he was going to dine? "At camp," was the reply; "at camp, then take care," said Napoleon, "that you do not get drunk."

Cipriani in town, making the usual purchases.

3rd.—Napoleon observed, that he had seen yesterday an old seaman, which he expressed in English. "He looks," said he, "like a seaman *e pare un brav'uomo.* There was with him a midshipman who was on board of the frigate with Usher, when I took a passage in her to Elba. He is much grown," continued he, "but I recollected him." I told him that the midshipman had said, the ship's company of the Undaunted had liked him, (Napoleon,) very much. "Yes," replied Napoleon, "I believe they did; I used to go amongst them, speak to them kindly, and ask different questions. My freedom in this respect quite astonished them, as it was so different from that which they had been accustomed to receive from their own officers. You English are *aristocrats.* You keep a great distance between yourselves and the *popolo.*"* I observed that on board of a man-of-war, it was necessary to keep the seamen at a great distance in order to maintain a proper respect for the officers. "I do not think," replied the emperor, "that it is necessary to keep up so much as you practise. When the officers do not eat or drink, or make too many freedoms with them, I see no necessity for any greater distinc-

* People.

tions. Nature formed all men equal. It was always my custom to go amongst the soldiers and the *canaille,* to converse with them, ask their little histories, and speak hindly to them. This I found to be of the greatest benefit to me. On the contrary, the generals and officers, *li trattai poco bene,* and kept them at a great distance.

"I asked," continued he, "the *old seaman* where he was to dine, and cautioned him not to get drunk. He told me he was married, and had no children. I asked him what he intended to do with his money. He said that he would leave it to an hospital. I then asked him if he had any nephews or nieces, and recommended him to leave his riches to them, instead of to an hospital.

"You brought a book," said he, "about the battle of Waterloo, to Gourgaud. The author says that I am an *imbecille,* that my army was a set of robbers, and that I committed one of the greatest blunders of which a military man could be guilty, by engaging Lord Wellington with a forest in his rear. Now the great fault in Lord Wellington was having engaged me in a position with a forest in his rear, with only one road leading to it; for in case of a defeat he could not have retreated. To effect a retreat well, it is necessary to have several roads by which your army can retire in large bodies, and with celerity; and also be able to defend themselves if attacked. It would have required twelve hours, without being molested, to enable Wellington's army to have got into the forest. The confusion of a beaten army attempting to retreat by *one* road, would have been such as to cause its total destruction when attacked. Another libeller says that I conquered Italy with a few thousand *galley-slaves.* Now the fact is, that probably so fine an army never had existed before. More than one half of them were men of education, the sons of merchants, of lawyers, of physicians, or of the better order of farmers and *bourgeoisie.* Two thirds of them knew how to write, and were capable of being made officers. Indeed, in a regiment it would have puzzled me to decide who were the most deserving subjects, or who best merited promotion; as they were all so good. Oh," continued he with emotion, "that all my armies had been the same! When on a march, I frequently called to the soldiers for some one to come forward, and write from my dictation. I was surrounded directly by dozens eager to undertake it, as there were few who did not write like a clerk.

"If," continued he, "the French army had even been a set of brigands, which was not the case, it ill becomes a Frenchman to say so. But for your purposes, you have found worse Frenchmen than Louis has yet found Englishmen. Perhaps there is more nationality, more public spirit than in France. You are islanders. *C'è lo spirito isolare.* And, besides, you have not had a revolution so lately as in France. To form a correct judgment of the two nations, it would be necessary to see both immediately after a revolution. Moreover, your ministers have many Frenchmen in pay to write whatever is pointed out to them, against their own country."

Napoleon then asked if we kept Good Friday sacred, if we fasted, and what was our mode of doing so? I replied that we did observe it; that *protestants* seldom fasted; but that when we practised it, we abstained altogether from food. That we did not consider avoiding animal food, and gorging with turbot, or with any other delicate fish, as fasting: "You are right," said the emperor, "you are perfectly right. If one fasts at all it ought to be from every thing, or else it does not deserve the name. *Oh come gli uomini son bestie,* to believe that abstaining from flesh, and eating fish, which is so much more delicate and delicious, constitutes fasting. *Povero uomo.*"

"Before my reign," said he, "the oath taken by the French kings was *to exterminate all heretics!* At my coronation, *I* swore to *protect all worships!* Louis has not yet sworn, because he has not been crowned, and in all probability, through fear of you and of the Prussians, will not take the oath of extermination; not that he has not the will, on the contrary, he would with pleasure both swear and *cause it to be effected.* For the family of the Bourbons are the most intolerant upon earth. The English will yet discover what they are."

Napoleon afterwards spoke about Hoche.—"Hoche," said he, "was one of the first generals that ever France produced. He was brave, intelligent, abounding in talent, decisive, and penetrating; *intrigant* also. If Hoche had landed in Ireland, he would have succeeded. He possessed all the qualities necessary to insure success. He was accustomed to civil war, and knew how to conduct himself under such circumstances. He had pacified La Vendée, and was well adapted for Ireland. He had a fine handsome figure, a good address; he was prepossessing and intriguing, but by some imbecility he was placed on board of a frigate which never reached the Irish coast, while the rest of the expedition of about eighteen thousand men, got into Bantry Bay, where they remained for some days perfectly masters of the means of disembarkation. But Grouchy, who I believe was second in command, did not know what to do; so that after having had it in their power to land and send the ships away, as they ought to have done, they remained a short time, did nothing, and then departed like *imbecilles.* If Hoche had arrived, Ireland was lost to you."

"If the Irish," added he, "had sent over honest men to me, I would have certainly made an attempt upon Ireland. But I had no confidence in either the integrity or the talents of the Irish leaders that were in France. They could offer no plan, were divided in opinion, and continually quarrelling with one another. I had but a poor opinion of the integrity of that O'Conner who was so much spoken of amongst you."

4th.—Napoleon dressed and in the billiard-room. In very good spirits. Spoke about the Admiralty; asked who signed the commissions of naval officers? Was surprised when I informed him that none were signed by the king. "What, was not Nelson's commission signed by King George?" I replied in the negative, and said that none but officers of the army and marines had commissions signed by the king; that his majesty had nothing to do with naval promotions. "Who appoints the Admiralty?" said Napoleon. I replied, "the sovereign." "Then," said he, "it is a humbug; for if the king wishes to give a command to an admiral, or to promote an officer, he has nothing more to do than to signify his desire to the Admiralty, who would not dare to refuse him, through fear of losing their own places." I observed in reply, that it had been said that the sovereign had at times caused the appointment of an admiral and commander in chief not exactly agreeable to the wishes of the Admiralty; but that in such cases, it was at the option of the lords of the Admiralty to confirm or not the promotions made by him, excepting certain vacancies which by right or by custom were in his gift. " Bah," said Napoleon, " if they did not confirm the promotions, would not the king dismiss them from their places? The king can promote whom he likes. He has great power, because he appoints the ministers, and commands those who have the direction of every thing. Ministers, unless in rare instances, love their places too well to run the risk of losing them, by refusing to comply with the wishes of the sovereign. It has happened to myself that a minister has said, ' Sire, I cannot agree to this. It is contrary to my opinion, and I will sooner resign than comply.' "

I remarked that several instances were not wanting in England of ministers having given up their places rather than comply with the wishes of the crown, in acting against their principles. That the king of England had considerable power over the army and the navy; but that over independent persons not military, naval, placemen, or place-hunters, he had only the influence which arose from their being conscious of the rectitude of his measures. " And what more had I in France?" said Napoleon, " what could I effect unless with those classes that you have excepted?" I ventured to observe that in France there was neither liberty of speech, nor of the press, and that a man might be thrown into prison for opposing the measures of government, and detained there for an indefinite period. Napoleon replied, "There certainly was not in France that freedom of discussion which prevails in England; although sometimes there was a very strong opposition in the senate; nor was there so much freedom of speech or liberty of the press; but what could I have done to a banker, or to other independent persons who opposed my measures? Put them in prison, vex and annoy them by arrestations? They could appeal to the senate and to the laws. Besides, it would have been an unworthy mode of acting. I do not deny that the old constitution of France was a very bad one, and required to be newly modified; but that constitution which I gave them when I returned from Elba was excellent; indeed its only fault was that it left too little power in my hands, and perhaps too much in those of the senate. I could not imprison a man without a decree, order a fine, impose taxes, or levy them by conscription; and there was a law for the liberty of the press." I said that his enemies had asserted that the constitution he had given was only for the moment; and that when firmly seated on the throne, he would have brought back things to the old system. "No, no," replied the emperor, "I would have continued the last constitution; I was well convinced that the old one required a great change. I suppose that it was Lord Castlereagh who made the assertion; but you must not believe Lord Castlereagh. You know what falsehoods he publicly asserted about me since I came here. I should not be surprised if they were to falsify all the official papers, as they have already done those concerning Murat and myself. When I returned from Elba, I found all the *apparatus*. They had falsified a number of the state papers, with the intention of publishing them. M. Blacas had the direction of the whole; but it was a priest who managed and executed it. The same had been done before to Murat's papers. The fabrications were shewn to some Englishmen. Blacas in like manner falsified a letter from a *femme de chambre* of my sister Pauline, containing seven or eight pages of *bavardage*. He had it interpolated so as to make it appear that I had slept with my sister! This Blacas is a wicked man, and a blockhead withal. He was base enough to leave behind him at Paris letters signed by the writers themselves, containing the offers of all those in France who had betrayed me before, by which, if I had pleased, I could have executed thousands. I did not however make any use of them further than remembering their names. Now a greater proof of imbecility and of treachery could not have been given than this conduct of Blacas; those letters ought to have been the very first things put into a state of security, or destroyed; as they compromised the lives of so many persons. But M. Blacas was only intent upon saving his *quattrini*;* and gave himself but little concern about the lives of those who had been the means of bringing himself and his master back. He was then minister of the king's household. Every thing was trusted to him by Louis, who is himself incapable, and whose chief qualities are dissimulation and hypocrisy. His legs are covered with ulcers, which are dressed for him by the Duchess of Angoulême. He gorges to that degree every day, that they are obliged to give him God knows what to enable him to disencumber himself of his load. Some morning he will be found dead in his bed. He has some ignorant *imbecilles* of physicians about him. They wanted Corvisart to attend him, but he refused, saying, that if any accident happened he might be accused of having contributed to his end. When I returned to the Thuilleries I found my apartments poisoned with the smell of his legs, and of divers sulphureous baths which he was in the habit of using."

"These Bourbons are the most timorous race imaginable," continued Napoleon; "put them in fear, and you may obtain any thing. While I was at Elba, an actress named Mademoiselle Raucour died. She was greatly beloved by the public, and an immense concourse of people went to her funeral. When they arrived at the church of St. Roch to have the funeral service performed over the corpse, they found the doors shut, and admittance was refused to it. Nor would they allow it to be buried in consecrated ground, for by the old regulations of those priests people of her profession were excluded from Christian burial. The populace broke open the doors with sledges, and perceiving that there was no priest to perform the funeral service, they became clamorous, their rage knew no bounds. They cried, *au château, au château des Thuilleries*. We will see what right these priests have to refuse interment to a Christian corpse. Their fury was heightened still more by learning that the very *coquin*, the curate of St. Roch, who had refused Christian burial to the corpse of Mademoiselle Raucour, had been in the constant habit of receiving presents from her, both for himself and for the poor, (for she was extremely charitable) and had dined and supped with her repeatedly. Moreover, that he had actually administered the sacrament to her a few days before her demise. The populace cried out, here is a *canaille* of a priest, who administers the sacrament to a woman, and afterwards denies her body Christian burial. If she was worthy of the sacrament, she surely is worthy of burial. He receives her benefactions, eats her dinners, and refuses her body interment. About fifty thousand of them went to the Thuilleries to seek redress from the king. An architect, who was in the inner apartments at the time, told me that he was present when Louis was first informed of it. Not being then aware that the mob was so numerous, Louis said, ‘the curate is right. Those players are ungodly gentry, they are excommunicated, and have no right to Christian burial.’ A few minutes afterwards Blacas entered in great fright, and said, that there were above seventy thousand furious people about the palace, and that he was afraid they would pull it down about them. Louis, almost out of his senses with fear, cried out to give immediate orders to have the body buried according to the rites of the church, and actually hurried some persons away to see it instantly carried into execution. He was not clear of his terror for some days. Those priests tried an experiment of a similar nature with me respecting the body of a beautiful dancer, but *per Dio*, (said he with emotion) they had not Louis to deal with. I soon settled the affair."

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* Money.

"I," continued Napoleon, "rendered all the burying places independent of the priests. I hated friars, (*frati*), and was the annihilator of them and of their receptacles of crime, the monasteries, where every vice was practised with impunity. A set of miscreants, *(scelerati)*, who in general are a dishonour to the human race. Of priests I would have always allowed a sufficient number, but no *frati*.

After this, I observed to the emperor, that it had been asserted, that after having at first refused to agree to the peace proposed by the allies at Chatillon, he had sent a messenger to inform Lord Castlereagh that he had changed his mind, and was willing to agree to the terms which had been offered; but Lord Castlereagh had replied, "that it was too late, and that they had determined upon their measures."* Napoleon answered, "it is false. I never would consent to the peace at Chatillon, because I had sworn to preserve the integrity of the empire, rather than deviate from which, I wrote to Caulaincourt that I would abdicate. I would have agreed to the terms proposed at Francfort, where the Rhine was to form the boundaries of France, as being the natural ones."†

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* This information was given to me by Sir Hudson Lowe.

† The following extract of a letter from the Duke of Vicenza may not be uninteresting:—

Sir—In a work of M. Koch, entitled, "*Campagne de* 1814," several fragments of letters written by me to the emperor and to the Prince de Neufchatel, during the congress at Chatillon, are inserted.

As to the congress of Chatillon, if events have justified the de-

I took the liberty to observe, that it might naturally be supposed that he would not have ad-

sire which I had to see peace restored to my country, it would be unjust to leave France and history ignorant of the motives of national interest and honour which induced the emperor to refuse signing the conditions which the allies desired to impose upon us.

I fulfil, therefore, the first of duties, that of equity and truth, in making known those motives, by the following extract from the orders of the emperor.

Paris, January 19*th*, 1814. "That which the emperor insists on the most, is the necessity of France preserving her limits. This is a *sine qua non* condition. All the powers, even England, have recognized these limits at Francfort. France reduced to her ancient limits, would not have to-day two thirds of the relative power which she possessed twenty years ago. What she has acquired on the side of the Alps and of the Rhine, does not compensate what Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have acquired by the sole dismemberment of Poland. All these states are aggrandized. To wish to bring back France to its ancient state, would be to bring it to decay and degradation. France, without the departments of the Rhine, without Belgium, without Ostend, without Antwerp, would be nothing. The system of bringing back France to her ancient frontiers is inseparable from the re-establishment of the Bourbons, because they alone could offer a guarantee for the maintenance of this system; England feels this well. In all other respects peace upon such a basis would be impossible, and could not last. Neither the emperor nor the republic, if some political commotion should revive it, would ever subscribe to such a condition. For the emperor's part, his resolution is taken; he is unchangeable; he will not leave France less great than he has received her. If then the allies wish to change the basis proposed and accepted, *the natural limits*, he can see but three courses: either to fight and conquer, or to fight hered to the treaty of Paris, the terms of which were worse. "Yes," replied Napoleon, "I would have strictly complied with that treaty. I would not have made it myself; but finding it made, and that it was not my work, I would have adhered to it and remained at peace."

A part of the conversation which followed led me to make some remarks not favourable to Maréchal Davoust, and also to ask Napoleon whether he was not considered as one of the best of his generals. "No," replied the emperor; "I do not think him a bad character. He never plundered for himself. He certainly levied contributions; but they were for the army. It is necessary for an army, especially when besieged, to provide for itself. As to being one of the first of the French generals, he is by no means so, although a good officer." I then asked who in his opinion was now the first? "It is difficult to say," replied Napoleon. "I think, however, that Suchet is probably the first. Massena was; but you may say

and die gloriously; or finally, if the nation would not support him, to abdicate. He does not cling to high place; he never will preserve it by his own degradation."

I expect, Sir, from your impartiality, that you would give a place to this letter in your journal, and I seize this opportunity of offering you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed.) CAULAINCOURT, DUC DE VICENCE.

To the Editor of the Constitutionnel.

that he is dead. He has a complaint in his breast which has rendered him quite another kind of man. Suchet, Clausel, and Gerard, are in my opinion the first of the French generals. It is difficult to pronounce which is superior,* as they have not had many opportunities of commanding in chief, which is the only mode by which you can ascertain the extent of a man's talents." He also mentioned Soult in terms of commendation.

Went along with Captain Poppleton, Captain Fuller, Impett, and other officers of the 53d, to a *rat hunt* in the camp, which was conducted in the following manner. Some soldiers had been furnished with spades and began to dig close by a ditch and a wall, which were infested with rats. Two dogs were in waiting, and we were provided with sticks. As soon as the rats found their premises moving about them, they sallied out and endeavoured to make their escape. They were then attacked by the dogs and men, and a most animated scene of confusion took place; the rats trying to get into other holes, and the others pursuing and striking at them in every direction, and hitting each other's legs, in their eagerness to reach their prey. Some of the rats turned upon the assailants, and made a desperate resistance. Fourteen of them were killed in less than half an hour.

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* As the emperor was rolling the balls of the billiard-table about at this moment, I am not positive whether it was only the two last that he mentioned as not having often commanded in chief.

The rats are in numbers almost incredible at Longwood. I have frequently seen them assemble like broods of chickens round the offal thrown out of the kitchen. The floors and wooden partitions that separated the rooms were perforated with holes in every direction. The partitions being for the most part double, and of one inch deal, afforded a space between them sufficiently large to admit a rat to move with facility. It is difficult for any person who has not actually heard it to form an idea of the noise caused by those animals running up and down between the partitions, and galloping in flocks in the garrets, whether in search of food or in amorous gambols, I know not. At night, when disturbed by their entrance into my chamber, and by their running over me in bed, I have frequently thrown my boots, the boot-jack, and every thing I could readily reach, at them, without intimidating them in the slightest degree, to effect which I have been at last obliged to get out of bed, to drive them away. We amused ourselves sometimes in the evening by removing the pieces of tin which were nailed over their holes, and allowing them sufficient time to enter, when the servants, armed with sticks, and followed by dogs, rushed in, covered the holes, and attacked the rats, who frequently made a desperate resistance, and bit the assailants severely.

However good the dogs may have been at first, they generally became indifferent, or unwilling to attack those noxious animals; and the same may be said of the cats. Poisoning them was impracticable, as the smell of their putrid carcases would render the rooms uninhabitable. Indeed in more instances than one it has been necessary to open a partition, for the purpose of extracting the body of a rat that had died there, and had caused an insupportable stench.

The wretched and ruinous state of the building, the roofs* and ceilings of which were chiefly formed of wood, and covered with brown paper smeared with a composition of pitch and tar, together with the partition being chiefly of wood, greatly favoured the introduction of those reptiles, and was productive of another great inconvenience, as the composition, when heated by the rays of the sun, melted and ran off, leaving a number of chinks open, through which the heavy tropical rains entered in torrents. Countess Montholon was repeatedly obliged to rise in the night, to shift her own and her children's beds to different parts of the rooms, in order to escape being deluged. The construction of the roofs rendered this irremediable, as a few hours of sunshine produced fresh cracks.

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* All the additions made to the old building were roofed in this manner. As this book may fall into the hands of some readers who may not credit the above description of Longwood House, I beg to call the attention of respectable persons who may touch at St. Helena, to the state of the house in which the exiled sovereign of France breathed his last after six years of captivity. To them I confidently appeal for a confirmation of the above, and of the description of the island in the Appendix.

6th.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Mentioned Marquis Cornwallis in terms of great praise. "Cornwallis," said he, "was a man of probity, a generous and sincere character. *Un très brave homme.* He was the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English; his integrity, fidelity, frankness, and the nobleness of his sentiments, impressed me with a very favourable opinion of you. I recollect Cornwallis saying, one day, 'There are certain qualities which may be bought, but a good character, sincerity, a proper pride, and calmness in the hour of danger, are not to be purchased.' These words made an impression upon me. I gave him a regiment of cavalry to amuse himself with at Amiens, which used to manœuvre before him. The officers of it loved him much. I do not believe that he was a man of first-rate abilities, but he had talent, great probity, and sincerity. He never broke his word. At Amiens, the treaty was ready, and was to be signed by him at the Hôtel de la Ville, at nine o'clock. Something happened which prevented him from going; but he sent word to the French ministers, that they might consider the treaty as having been signed, and that he would sign it the following day. A courier from England arrived at night, with directions to him to refuse his consent to certain articles, and not to sign the treaty. Although Cornwallis had not signed it, and might have easily availed himself of this order, he was a man of such strict honour, that he said he considered his promise to be equivalent to his signature, and wrote to his government that he had promised, and that having once pledged his word, he would keep it. That if they were not satisfied, they might refuse to ratify the treaty. *There* was a man of honour—a true Englishman. Such a man as Cornwallis ought to have been sent here, instead of a compound of falsehood, suspicion, and meanness. I was much grieved when I heard of his death. Some of his family occasionally wrote to me, to request favours for some prisoners, which I always complied with."

He then spoke about his having given himself up to the English, and observed, "My having given myself up to you, is not so simple a matter as you imagine. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh offered me an asylum in England, and said, that I should be very well treated there, and much better off than at Elba." I said, that

Lord Castlereagh was reported to have asserted, that he (Napoleon) had applied for an asylum in England, but that it was not thought proper to grant it. "The real fact," said Napoleon, "is, that he first proposed it. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh said to Caulaincourt, 'Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? Let him come to England. He will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and will experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, because that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us, without making any conditions, and he will be received with the greatest joy, and be much better than at Elba.' This," added he, "had much influence with me afterwards."

On asking Napoleon his opinion of Baron Stein, he replied, "A patriot, a man of talent, and a busy, stirring character." I observed, that I had heard it asserted that Stein had done him more mischief than Metternich, or indeed any other person, and had been mainly instrumental to his fall. "Not at all," replied Napoleon; "He was certainly a man of talent, but had his advice been followed, the King of Prussia would have been ruined past all redemption; Stein was always hatching intrigues, and wanted Prussia to declare prematurely against me; which would have caused her destruction. The king, however, was better advised, and did not declare himself until the proper time had arrived, that is to say, until that accident of Russia, of which he took immediate advantage." A pause now took place, Napoleon walked a few paces, stopped, looked at me, and said, in an expressive manner, "none but myself ever did me any harm; I was, I may say, the only enemy to myself: my own projects, that expedition to Moscow, and the accidents which happened there, were the causes of my fall. I may, however, say, that those who made no opposition to me, who readily agreed with me, entered into all my views, and submitted with facility, were those who did me the most injury, and were my greatest enemies; because, by the facility of conquest they afforded, they encouraged me to go too far. They were more my enemies than those who formed intrigues against me, because the latter put me upon my guard, and rendered me more careful. I caused Stein to be sent away from the court of Prussia. It would, however, have been very fortunate for me if his projects had been followed, as Prussia would have broken out prematurely, and I should have extinguished her like that," (raising one of his feet, and stamping, as if he were putting out the snuff of a candle); "I could," continued he, "have dethroned the King of Prussia, or the Emperor of Austria, upon the slightest pretext, as easily as I do this," stretching out one of his legs. "I was then too powerful for any man, except myself, to injure me."

I asked him if he had ever said any thing of the following tenor relative to Metternich: "One or two lies are sometimes necessary, but Metternich is all lies. Nothing but lies, lies, lies, from him!" Napoleon laughed and said, "*C'est vrai.* He is composed of nothing but lies and intrigues." I asked if he were not a man of great talent? "Not at all," replied he, "*è bugiardo ed intrigante—intrigante e bugiardo.** That is the sum total of his character."

"Lord Whitworth," continued Napoleon, "in that famous interview which he had with me, during which I was by no means violent, said on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body; especially of those ambassadors who remonstrated with him and said, 'My Lord, how can this account be correct. You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion that all would go on well.' He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true.'

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* He is a liar and an intriguer—an intriguer and a liar.

"Your ministers never publish the facts," continued he: "If this governor sent no other accounts of the battles, and other circumstances, than those that were published in the papers, he betrayed his country; as they are almost all false, similar to those of others employed on your political missions. A false account is sent to be submitted to the public, and deposited in the archives; and a secret one, stating the truth, for your ministers themselves to act upon, but never to be produced. So that your ministers, upon an enquiry being made by parliament, have a set of documents in the archives ready to submit for inspection; from whence conclusions are to be drawn, and decisions made. In this manner, although the contents are untrue, the ministers cannot be accused of imposing false statements upon the parliament, because they were officially transmitted to them, and the public and parliament are satisfied. References are made, and every thing appears satisfactory, yet the ground-work of the whole is false. In consequence of having been so long opposed to your ministers, there is nobody knows them better than I do. Your system is a compound of lies and truth. In no other ministry in the world is there so much *machiavelism* practised; because you have so much to defend, and so many important points to contest against the rest of Europe, and because you are obliged to enter into explanations with the nation."

I mentioned to Napoleon that it had been stated in one of the papers that he had once sent a shipwright to Algiers or Tunis, in order to teach the pirates ship-building. He replied, "Never. It is possible that they may have got a Frenchman as a ship-builder, but not with my consent. They might have procured some person from Marseilles. At Constantinople, when the Turks were at war with France, there was a ship-builder named Le Musa. Instead of succouring the pirates, I proposed to England to exterminate them, or at least to oblige them to live like honest people, to which your ministers would not consent. There was nobody who disliked or despised those *canaglie* of pirates more than I did, or who treated them more like dogs. It was not the policy of the English ministers to destroy those barbarians, or else they would have done it long ago. By permitting those wretches to exist and to plunder, you engrossed the greatest part of the trade of the Mediterranean to yourselves; because the Swedes, Danes, Portuguese, and others, were afraid to send their ships there; and consequently during the war, you had almost all the Mediterranean trade. The reason you sent that expedition to Algiers, was to ingratiate yourselves with the Italians, and to prevent their regretting me. For I gave the French flag to all the Italian states, and made the barbarians respect it; which has not been the case since the Bourbons mounted the throne. The Italians would have been discontented, and have cried, that in Napoleon's reign, they were at least free from the attacks and piracies of the corsairs. That expedition deserves no credit except for the great bravery and nautical skill displayed by the admiral, and by those under him. As to the negociations, Lord Exmouth has failed; as he ought to have made the extinction of piracy, the surrender of their fleet, and an obligation to build no more ships of war, (unless the Grand Signor made war upon some of the European powers,) the *sine qua non.* You say that it has been stipulated that only prisoners, and not slaves, are in future to be made. I fear much that if any difference be made amongst those barbarians between the lot of prisoner and of slave, it will be to the disadvantage of the former. For those wretches had some interest in preserving the lives of their slaves, in order to obtain their ransom; whereas with prisoners they will have no such expectation; and therefore giving way to their natural cruelty and deadly hatred of Christians, they will in all probability mutilate and put them to cruel deaths. I think that your ministers ordered Lord Exmouth *not* to endeavour to abolish piracy altogether, but merely to give it a check, to punish the Algerines in a certain degree, cause your flag to be respected, and gain the favour of the Italians and other Mediterranean states, which you have lost by your having so basely given them up to their oppressors. For, if the pirates were totally annihilated, all nations could trade securely in the Mediterranean, which would not agree with your ideas of engrossing the principal share of the commerce of that sea. Your ministers would not wish to see the corsairs destroyed. You say that the expedition gave an *éclat* to your marine.* Certainly it was a very gallant affair; but your marine has no occasion for another *éclat*. My opinion is, that it was a very ill advised expedition. You ran the risk of being drubbed by barbarians, and of losing two or three ships. Even with your victory, you may say that you lost a thousand men in killed and disabled, and got five or six ships knocked to pieces. Now the lives and limbs of a thousand brave English seamen are of more value and consequence than the *whole of the piratical states.* Blockading the port with a seventy-four and two or three frigates, under Captain Usher or Maitland, would have gained you just as good terms as you have got, without the loss of a man."

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* I had observed, that in consequence of the checks we had sustained from the Americans, it was desirable that our navy should wind up by doing something brilliant.

"I always had a high opinion of your seamen," continued Napoleon. "When I was returning from Holland along with the Empress Marie Louise, we stopped to rest at Givet. During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. I was very anxious to depart; and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that I might be enabled to cross the river. They said that the waters were so high that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. I questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. I then recollected that there were English prisoners in the caserns; and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen amongst them should be brought before me to the banks of the river. The waters were very high and the current rapid and dangerous. I asked them if they could join a number of boats so that I might pass over. They answered, that it was possible but hazardous. I desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the other *imbecilles* had pronounced to be impossible; and I crossed before the evening was over. I ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with me at the time."

"When I landed at Elba," added he, "with Usher, my guard had not arrived, and Usher gave me one composed of his marines under the command of a *sous officier*, who constantly remained at Porto Ferrajo, and formed my body-guard for some days. I had every reason to be contented with them. When my own guard arrived, they contracted a friendship with the marines and the sailors. They were frequently seen rolling about in the streets drunk, locked arm in arm, singing and shaking hands with each other. Your seamen were surprised at the familiarity with which I treated them, which was so different from the aristocratic *morgue* to which they had generally been accustomed. I believe that not a man in the ship would have injured me if it were in his power. When I left them, I ordered a Napoleon to be given to each, and I made Usher a present of a box, with my picture set round with diamonds. If I had had such able seamen as Usher for officers, the naval combats between the French ships and yours would have terminated very differently."

I mentioned that the governor had said he wished to have some conversation with Count

Bertrand relative to the ride towards Woody Range, and had said that if the count would give an assurance that certain houses would not be entered, it might be arranged. " What houses are there?" replied Napoleon, " Miss Mason's and that of Legge, the carpenter. Is he afraid of Miss Robinson's virtue? *Bêtises*, if I wished to correspond, you well know that I could cause letters to be sent to Europe every day."

8*th.*—On the 7th, the races were held at Deadwood, at which Madame Sturmer, the three commissioners, and Captain Gor, were present. General Gourgaud also went, and had a long conversation with the Baron and Baroness Sturmer, Count Balmaine, and, latterly, Marquis Montchenu. During the greatest part of the time no British officer listened to them. Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade were *spectators* a considerable portion of the time. Lady Lowe was also present. Towards the end of the races, the commissioners, Madame Sturmer, and Baron Gourgaud, went to Mrs. Younghusband's house in camp, where they remained together for some time, before any of the governor's officers followed them. Mentioned to Sir Hudson Lowe the opinion which Napoleon had expressed of Marquis Cornwallis, to which his excellency replied, that " Lord Cornwallis was too honest a man to deal with him."

Napoleon went down to Count Bertrand's,

where he had from the upper windows a good view of the races, at which he remained until they were finished, and appeared to be highly entertained.

Sir Thomas Reade expressed great anger towards Mrs. Younghusband for having invited the commissioners and General Gourgaud together, without having been accompanied, and said, that the governor had a right, and ought to turn her off the island for it, adding, that the commissioners themselves were mean wretches for having spoken to Gourgaud, when his master treated them with such contempt.

Napoleon walked out for some time with Counts Montholon and Bertrand. Saw him at mid-day. He asked many questions about the races, in which he appeared to take an interest. Observed, that from what he had heard, Montchenu must have been very badly educated, as he had made use of very improper and even indecent language before Lady Lowe, on occasion of the breeze (which was very smart) having interfered with some lady's drapery. "In general," said Napoleon, "Frenchmen at his time of life are proverbially polite, but from what I have heard, this man never could have been brought up in good company, and has *l'air d'un sous lieutenant de l'ancien regime.*"

Mr. Rainsford, the minister of police, died on the 7th.

14th.—General Gourgaud, while going through the camp, went into the apartments of Major Fehrzen of the 53d regiment, where he remained for a few minutes.

15th.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for the orderly officer, and demanded "what business General Gourgaud had to enter Major Fehrzen's rooms?"

Saw Napoleon, who was reclining upon his sofa. Very anxious in his inquiries about the health of Madame Bertrand, Tristan de Montholon, and the little Napoleonne, both of whom were very unwell, especially Tristan, who laboured under a severe attack of dysentery of a highly inflammatory nature, and for which I had bled him. When I told Napoleon that the bleeding had afforded the child great relief, "Ah," said he, "experience, experience is every thing."*

Shewed him a very curious edict which had been issued by the emperor of China relative to the English ambassador, and explained the purport of it. After he had heard what I had to say, he replied that he was still of opinion, that the ambassador ought to have complied with such ceremonies as were practised by the first mandarins of the empire towards the emperor. That the Chinese did not ask us to send ambassadors to them. That our having sent one, was a proof that we had some favour to ask, or some object to gain; therefore, we ought to have complied with their customs, or else not have sent an ambassador. "You ought," continued he, "to have treated those brutes like children, to have humoured them in fact as if you had sent an ambassador to the moon. I recollect having had a conversation on the subject at Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander, when we were very good friends. He asked my opinion and advice: I gave it to him exactly as I have done to you. He was perfectly convinced, and wrote a reprimand to his ambassador for not having complied with the ceremonies that had been required from him."

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* Napoleon had frequently before condemned the practice of bleeding, which he maintained was abstracting so much of one's life.

"When I was at war with Russia," said he, "I had an intention of injuring the Russians in their Chinese trade, by inciting the king of Persia to make war upon them, which in fact he did. I had hopes of causing a diversion by means of the hordes of Tartars under the Persian government."

I asked afterwards if it were true that Talleyrand had proposed to him to cause all the Bourbons to be assassinated, and had even offered to negociate for its accomplishment? Napoleon replied, "it is true. Talleyrand proposed and offered to have it effected." In reply to a question of mine, whether one hundred thousand francs was not the sum demanded? the emperor answered, "A great deal more; if I recollect right, a million of francs for each. But I always refused my consent. There wanted nothing but that. I even forbade the attempt to be made."

16th.—Napoleon informed me that he was now employed in writing observations, military and otherwise, upon the seven years war of the Great Frederic, which would when finished form two or three volumes.

In the course of conversation he mentioned General Lallemand, whose character he descrbed in very favourable terms. "Lallemand," said he, "whom you saw in the Bellerophon, was employed by me at Acre as a negociator with Sydney Smith, during which he displayed considerable address and ability. After my return from Elba, he, like Labédoyère, declared for me in a moment of the greatest danger, and excited a movement of primary importance amongst the troops of his division, which would have succeeded, had it not been for the indecision of Davoust and some others who had agreed to join with him, but who failed when the hour of trial arrived. Lallemand *a beaucoup de décision, est capable de faire des combinaisons*, and there are few men more qualified to lead a hazardous enterprize. He has the *feu sacré.* He commanded the *chasseurs de la garde* at Waterloo, and *enfonça* some of your battalions." Victor he described to be "*une bête sans talens et sans* *tête.*" Soult, "an excellent minister of war, a very good planner, but not so well able to execute as to arrange. After the defeat of the Turks at Aboukir," added he, "Sydney Smith sent his secretary with a flag of truce to Alexandria as the beare of some letters addressed to me, which one of his cruizers had taken on board of a ship, to which Sydney Smith joined some English newspapers, the contents of which decided me to return to France."

Cipriani employed in town as usual.

20*th.*—Count Balmaine and Captain Gor came up as far as Longwood, dogged by a serjeant of the 66th regiment, dressed in plain clothes, who was in the employ of Sir Thomas Reade.

END OF VOL. I.

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